Poor Migrants in Dhaka: Problems, Policies and Issues

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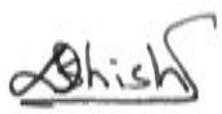
A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of

The Australian National University

December 2003

Except where otherwise indicated, the material contained in this thesis is my own work.



Debashish Roy

For my parents,

Nirmal Kanti Roy & Hashi Roy

Acknowledgements

I owe a number of people a great deal in many ways in completing this thesis. First, I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Peter Francis McDonald and Dr Bruce Kenneth Caldwell, and advisor Professor Terence Harwood Hull for their constructive comments and invaluable suggestions. Foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor McDonald for being generous with his time in reading my work and his continuous support and encouragement. Further, I would like to thank Professor Gavin Jones, who had patiently guided me at some important stages of my thesis preparation with his advice and support before he left ANU.

In addition, I would like to extend my thanks to Dr Jeff Wood of the Statistical Consulting Unit, and Dr Siew-Ean Khoo and Dr Christine McMurray of the Demography and Sociology program for statistical advice. Particular thanks go to Dr. Marian May, who read the preliminary draft of some chapters of my thesis and her comments were greatly appreciated. Many thanks also go to all academic, administrative staff members and fellow students in the Demography and Sociology Programs for their kind assistance and friendship. I would like to acknowledge the friendly co-operation of *basti* dwellers of Dhaka and the invaluable contribution of people who were involved in data collection and entry into the computer. Moreover, I am grateful to ANU and the Australian Government Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs for providing me the ANU PhD and International Postgraduate Research scholarship respectively to undertake this research project.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their moral support and love. In particular, my deepest gratitude goes to my father Nirmal Kanti Roy whom I lost during the research project. Special thanks also go to my little son Shreyashish and to my wife Rinku Chowdhury whom I deprived a lot from enjoying my company and love.

Abstract

The proliferation of squatter settlements (*basti*) in Dhaka, which are home to about 30 per cent of the city's population, indicates the consequences of rapid rural-urban migration, particularly poverty-induced migration from rural areas. Despite being an integral part of the city, the governments attitude towards *basti* have been negative and have often ignored issues of human rights. Due to the government's aggressive reaction to the formation of *basti*, it has been a crucial issue, which has attracted both national and international attention. The government has initiated negligible efforts for the betterment of the *basti* dwellers. Apart from the government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have undertaken development programs with different objectives since the late 1980s.

While the existence of *basti* is considered a basic problem in improving the overall environment of Dhaka city, no previous study has systematically analyzed *basti* livelihoods in relation to both causes and consequences of migration. It is hypothesized that rural poor migrate to cities to escape from the rural poverty or improve the living conditions through economic changes. Since migration is a heterogeneous process, both in terms of causes and consequences of migration, it is difficult to develop appropriate policies to tackling the *basti* settlements. In this regard, this study strongly questions the generalizations often made about poor migrants in *basti*. This research examines the ways in which poor migrants in Dhaka's *basti* vary in relation to causes and consequences of migration so that more meaningful policy simulations can be developed. On the basis of this analysis, two specific policy alternatives to improve *basti* situations are examined.

This research shows that migrants in *basti* vary according to migration behaviour, socio-economic achievements and the formation of the community. The heterogeneity of *basti* dwellers calls for a diversity of approaches to improve *basti* conditions. This implies that while development programs based on rehabilitation in the places of origin can be viable to a limited extent, the community-based interventions are seen as a more appropriate approach to improve the *basti* environment. A combination of different programs rather than an exclusive program is needed to ameliorate *basti* situations in Dhaka.

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Glossary and Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ASA	Association for Social Advancement
BOSC	*Bastibashir Odhikar Surakha* Committee
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BIDS	Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies
BKB	Bangladesh *Krishi* Bank
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CBO	Community Based Organization
CUP	Coalition for the Urban Poor
CUS	Centre for Urban Studies
DCC	Dhaka City Corporation
DFID	Department of International Development
DSK	*Dushtha Shasthya Kendra*
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FYP	Five Year Plan
GOB	Government of Bangladesh
HH	Household Head
ICDDR, B	International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh
ILO	International Labour Organization
IUSSP	International Union for the Scientific Study of Population
LH	Life History
NAB	NGO Affairs Bureau
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PSTC	Population Services and Training Centre
QOL	Quality of Life
SMA	Statistical Metropolitan Areas
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements

Chapter 1: Introduction

Dhaka, the capital and the largest agglomeration in Bangladesh, has joined the group of world mega-cities with a population of 10.4 million in 2001 as the result of an annual average growth rate of 6.9 per cent over the period 1975-2000. This unprecedented growth is largely due to rural-urban migration, particularly poverty-induced migration from rural areas, and the influx of rural-urban migrants has been associated with the rapid expansion of squatter settlements in Dhaka. These squatter settlements presently constitute a living environment for about one-third of the city's population, and have been an integral part of the urban setting. However, the proliferation of these unplanned squatter settlements causes heavy congestion, inadequate infrastructure and insecurity, threatening not only the quality of life (QOL) of those squatters but also the overall urban environment. Therefore, nowadays the Government of Bangladesh (GOB), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international agencies and civil society are deeply concerned about remedial measures and solutions of this squatter problem. This study argues that any planning strategies to redress the phenomenon of rapid increase of squatter settlements require a comprehensive understanding of different aspects of the lives of poor migrants including the migration event, consequent socio-economic outcomes and alternative measures for responding to the problems. Thus, the purpose of this study is to provide an in-depth understanding of these issues.

The primary aim of this introductory chapter is to provide background information for an understanding of the research questions addressed by this study. Therefore, the first section presents background information and then the following section defines the research questions. Next, the rationale, objectives, scope, and limitations of the thesis are presented. Finally, this chapter defines some terms used in this thesis followed by an overview of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 *Background to the research*

This section first provides an overview of the general trend of urbanization in developing countries. Then it describes the growth of urbanization in Bangladesh followed by an examination of phenomena affecting urban population change and the pattern of

urbanization in Bangladesh. After that, this section specifically highlights the attraction of Dhaka, the flight of rural poor towards Dhaka, challenges of managing Dhaka's poor migrants and lastly options for meeting the challenge.

The trend of urbanization in developing countries

Urbanization is a major process associated with the modernization of societies in every part of the world. Striking differences are apparent between the developed and developing countries with respect to their pattern of urbanization, and its consequences. During the period 1990-95, the annual rate of change of the urban population in the less developed countries was 3.1 per cent compared to only 0.7 percent in developed countries (United Nations 2001:20). Since the 1980s, the rapid growth of the cities in developing countries has become something of a cliché (Devas and Rakodi 1993:1). In a general view, as economic development increases, migration assumes a greater role in determining the pace of urban growth in less developed countries (Brockerhoff 2000:18). For instance, rural to urban migration contributes about half of urban growth in the ESCAP region (Mukherji 2000:8). Similarly, the bulk of African urban population increase is due to rural-urban migration rather than to natural increase or reclassification of boundaries (Obudho and Mhlanga 1988:6). It is argued that the issue of urban poverty in developing countries usually involves concern about migration (Yap 1977:239). As the result of shifting patterns of population, a growing proportion of the world's poor now lives in cities (Devas and Rakodi 1993:12). Recent evidence shows that both the proportion of poor people living in urban areas and the absolute number of urban poor are increasing in Bangladesh, India, China, Nigeria and Ghana (Haddad et al. 1999:1896). The result of the influx of migrants is the unauthorized construction of settlements in many urban centres, with a majority of the third world urban population living at below acceptable standards compared to the way of urban life in the developed countries (Gilbert and Gugler 1982:81).

The growth of urbanization in Bangladesh

Bangladesh, which is a part of South Asia, is one of the poorest countries in the world with a per capita income of US$369 in 1998-1999 (BBS 2000:271). The recent data show that Bangladesh has a comparatively low level of urbanization within the south-central Asia region where 30.6 per cent people were living in urban centres in 2000 (United Nations 2001:37), but in Bangladesh, only 23.4 per cent of the total population are living in urban

areas in 2001 (BBS 2001:6). Having this low level of urbanization, Bangladesh has experienced a high rate of urbanization since the 1960s both in absolute terms and as a percentage of the total population (Table 1.1).

Table-1.1: The trends of urban population growth in Bangladesh 1941-2001

Census Year	Population (Millions)		Percentage change		Growth rate (%)		Percentage urban
	Total	Urban	Total	Urban	Total	Urban	
1941	41.9	1.5	-	-	-	-	3.7
1951	44.2	1.8	5.2	18.2	0.5	1.7	4.1
1961	55.2	2.6	25.0	45.1	2.3	3.8	4.8
1974	76.4	6.3	38.4	137.5	2.5	6.6	8.2
1981	89.9	14.1	17.7	124.7	2.3	11.5	15.7
1991	111.5	22.5	24.0	59.4	2.2	4.6	20.1
2001	129.3	30.2	15.9	34.6	1.5	2.9	23.4

Source: Compiled from different census reports: (BBS 1977:8; 1984:33-36; 1987:2, 11; 1997:xi, xiv, 6; 2001:4-11).

Phenomena affecting urban population change in Bangladesh

Urban population change occurs as the result of the interaction of demographic phenomena (natural growth of native urban population and net rural-urban migration) and areal phenomena (reclassification of localities and annexation of the territories to previous urban centers). All these factors have contributed to the rapid growth of urban population in Bangladesh in different ways in different periods. For instance, Jordan (1993 cited in Afsar 2000:36) estimated that 36 per cent of the total urban growth was due to natural increase between 1981 and 1991, an estimate which is close to the United Nations estimation of 37.5 per cent during 1985-1990 (United Nations 1993 cited in Afsar 2000:36). According to the United Nations (1992:29), over the period 1980-2000, the natural increase of the urban population of Bangladesh remained around 40 per cent. On the other hand, due to the extended definition[1] of urban centres in 1981, the urban population growth reached a peak of 11.5 per cent during the period 1974-1981 (Table 1.1), and according to the BBS (1984:36) the inclusion of these new urban centres accounted for 30 per cent of total urban growth. However, the growth of the urban population in Bangladesh is largely due to rural-urban migration (Islam 1996a:75). Migration contributed 40 per cent of urban population

[1] In the 1981 census, urban centres were categorized into four groups: Statistical Metropolitan Area (SMA), Municipality (*Paurashava*), other urban areas (with a population of less than 5,000 but characterized by non-agricultural activities) and Thana Headquarters. The great change made in this definition was that all *thana* headquarters were treated as urban centres irrespective of their level of development urban characteristics (BBS 1987: 9). In the 1991 census, a new category was introduced and this category was the mega-city, having more than 5 million population (BBS 1997: 4).

change during the period 1974-1981, and for large cities, up to 70 per cent (UDD-UNCHS-UNDP 1985 cited in GOB and ADB 1996b:1-2). In the 1991 Census, the total proportion of inmigration that was to urban centres was 56.2 per cent where the proportion of rural-urban migration was 51.8 per cent and that of intra urban migration was 4.4 per cent (BBS 1997:10).

The pattern of urbanization in Bangladesh

While Bangladesh is rapidly urbanizing, the urban population is becoming increasingly concentrated in large cities. This phenomenon is typical of the migration pattern in developing countries of the ESCAP region (Mukherji 2000:7), and thus, most of the world's major metropolises are now found in the less developed countries (Gilbert and Gugler 1982:5). According to the last two censuses in 1991 and 2001, urbanization has increasingly concentrated in the large cities, mainly the four Statistical Metropolitan Areas (SMAs) of Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna and Rajshahi, and they have maintained their relative position. Among these SMAs, Dhaka has maintained a high level of primacy[2] since 1951 when its primacy level was 22.5 per cent, and according to the last census in 2001, its primacy level reached a peak of 34 per cent. Thus, Dhaka has emerged as a mega-city[3] with a total population of 9.9 million[4] according to the 2001 Population Census preliminary report (BBS 2001:28; GOB and ADB 1996b:1-3).

In addition, Dhaka joined the group of world mega-cities in 2000 and Dhaka has been the fastest growing city in the developing countries since the 1970s and obviously in the world as a whole (United Nations 2001:93-96). The rapid population change in Dhaka occurs mainly due to rural-urban migration as a study termed Dhaka as a city of migrants showing that 81 per cent of dwellers are migrants, most of whom (83 per cent) came from rural areas (CUS 1982:41, 51). However, no other city of Bangladesh is expected to emerge as a mega-city in the near future as the second largest city, Chittagong with a present population of 3.2 million, is expected to have a total of 5.9 million people in 2015 (United Nations

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[2] Primacy is the share of the urban population in a country that lives in a single city (United Nations 1998: 29).

[3] Mega-cities are defined by the United Nations as cities with 10 million or more inhabitants (United Nations 1998: 23). But in the 1991 Bangladesh Population Census, a city with more than 5 million people was defined as a mega-city (BBS 1997: 4).

[4] The adjusted figure would be 10.4 million as approximately 4.9 per cent of the population were missed in the recent 2001 census (BBS 2001: 4).

2001:98). This implies that the current trend towards the largest concentration of urban population being in the capital city is expected to continue in Bangladesh.

The attraction of Dhaka

There are many complex and inter-related reasons why cities in developing countries are experiencing unprecedented growth. The main factors related to rapid rural-urban migration are two correlated economic issues: regional development and inequality of incomes. Firstly, although the relationship between regional development and internal migration is complex and multi-directional (Hugo 1991:6), the rural-urban migration towards Dhaka is primarily related to economic betterment or job opportunities. Dhaka had been the centre of economic development in Bangladesh before its Independence. Although Bangladesh has never been an industrialized country, whatever industry[5] it had in the past was mostly located in three urban centres, namely Dhaka (including Narayanganj), Chittagong and Khulna. Dhaka had accounted for 40 per cent of the total major industries in the public sector in the early 1970s (Chaudhury 1980:13).

After Independence in 1971, the attraction of Dhaka city increased further when the manufacturing industries, public, commercial, and other service sectors flourished mainly in this city (Hossain 1987:19). Consequently, in the early 1980s, Dhaka had a share of 67 per cent of all manufacturing industries (Islam 1983 cited in Huq-Hussain 1996a:23). Among the manufacturing sub-sectors, since the late 1970s, the garment industry has played the prime role in providing job opportunities for rural unskilled and semi-skilled workers, in particular for women, as women work at a cheaper rate than men. It has become the major source of foreign currency, accounting for 76 per cent of the total foreign currency[6]. More importantly, the major concentration of the garment factories has been in Dhaka mega-city, representing 79 per cent of 750 registered factories (Zohir and Paul-Majumder 1996:3). The attraction of job opportunities in Dhaka has also been facilitated by the transport and communications sectors of the country which have undergone remarkable development since the mid 1980s (Hossain 1987:19).

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[5] In the early 1970s, industries of Bangladesh were mainly based on jute, textiles, chemicals, steel, and food (Chaudhury 1980: 13, 49).

[6] As reported by Khalilur Rahman in his article '*Poshak Shilper Shongkot*' in the daily Ittefaq on 24 December 2001, Page 9.

Secondly, the inequality of cash incomes plays a significant role in accelerating rural-urban migration. As tertiary economic activities and consequently job opportunities are concentrated in urban areas, the inequality between urban and rural income gets larger despite the growth centre approach taken in the second Five Year Plan (1980-1985) which aimed to minimize the rural-urban imbalance (Mondal 1988:2). The disparity ratio of urban and rural household income increased from 142 per cent in 1973-1974 to 186 per cent in 1978-1979 (Hossain 1987:30). Similarly, in 1988-89, the income per earner of urban households was about 60 per cent higher than that of rural households, whereas in 1995-1996 this difference increased to about 100 per cent (BBS 1998:31). The above two economic issues primarily show the economic advantage in Dhaka or the 'urban-bias' of development in Bangladesh. The concept of urban bias originated from Lipton (1977:44-46) who argued that resources in poor countries are allocated in favour of urban centres. The important point is that as the rural traditional agricultural sector[7] cannot provide sufficient opportunities for the additional population, employment opportunities in urban areas help to relieve the rural areas of some of the burden of overpopulation. Therefore, people are moving from the low productive or low-income areas to the higher productive or higher income areas, generally to Dhaka.

The flight of rural poor towards Dhaka

According to the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) (1998:53-54), during the period 1995-1996 there was 9.6 million urban poor[8] in Bangladesh. But according to the GOB-ADB (1996b:1-7) study, there are at least 11 million poor[9] in all urban areas in Bangladesh. It is assumed that about 30 per cent of the total population[10] of Dhaka live in *basti*[11]. Whatever the share of the urban poor in Bangladesh, their flight towards Dhaka city is

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[7] Agriculture contributes a significant share to GDP, about 31 per cent in 1998-1999 (BBS 2000: 285).

[8] 'Poor' are defined by an income which is enough only to provide for the minimum daily requirement of 2122 calories per person per day.

[9] In that study the poor have been measured by the poverty line based on income/expenditure related to daily normative calorie intake plus cost of non-food items and services. That poverty line is determined at TK 3,500 per household.

[10] The Honorary chairman of CUS and the Slum Development Officer of DCC assumed this in their interviews. In addition, the Honorary Chairman has mentioned this figure in his article in the magazine 'Cities without slums' published by the ministry of housing and public works to mark the occasion of World Habitat Day 2001.

[11] In general, *basti* refer to slums. But there are significant differences between the patterns of squatter settlements in Dhaka, and therefore, for the definition of *basti*, the number of *basti* and how it differs from other types of squatter settlements, please see Section 3.1.

serious, which is reflected in the increasing number of *basti* and shanty settlements. Although no accurate data are available on the number of *basti*, nowadays, no *thana*[12] in Dhaka shows its area without *basti*, and some *thana* such as Shabujbag, Gulshan, Demra, Pallabi, Mirpur and Mohammadpur are occupied by large numbers (more than 100) of *basti* (BBS 1999). In *basti,* poor migrants are in a distinctly inferior position to other urban residents. While population mobility is considered an option for improving the life changes and opportunities, poor migrants in *basti* struggle to nurture families in severely degraded and life-threatening environmental circumstances.

Challenges of managing Dhaka's poor migrants

The rapid growth of Dhaka, its biased development, and rural-urban migration or more specifically the flight of rural poor towards Dhaka are of course not of recent origin, but they have emerged as acute correlated factors, creating problems in maintaining the overall living environment of Dhaka over the last few decades. The fundamental problem is that the urban population is growing very fast while the physical and social infrastructure of urban areas is developing slowly, and most migrants are far too poor to take advantage of such facilities. The growth of *basti* population forces the government, and other national and international organizations to meet the challenge of providing adequate housing and basic services such as water, sanitation, drainage, health care, education and garbage removal. In particular, the challenge of managing poor migrants in a sustainable living environment becomes critical since the centrally driven model of provision has excluded these poor who are unable to pay for services. However, the emergence of *basti* problems is not only due to the excess demand for reasonably priced housing but very much interrelated with poverty and the rural-urban migration. Therefore, while the improvement of the quality of life (QOL) of poor migrants is an important challenge, the continuing trend of rural-urban migration simultaneously emerges as an underlying problem of squatter settlements. In other words, improvement in the QOL of *basti* dwellers would induce even higher migration from the rural areas.

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[12] Dhaka metropolitan area is comprised of 16 thana (police stations), which is the administrative unit for jurisdiction.

Options for ameliorating *basti* conditions

Poor migrants are not only very poor, but they are also the hitherto most deprived and functionally disorganized people in Dhaka. Therefore, the possibilities for improving the QOL are considered to be associated with interventions by the Government or NGOs. Almost all recent studies suggest that in order to improve the quality of urban life, NGO programs should be encouraged (Afsar 2000:228; GOB and ADB 1996a:202; Huq-Hussain 1996a:209). The GOB-ADB study suggests that NGO programs are much better than those of other organizations because they have specific programs for the hitherto poor communities (GOB and ADB 1996a:157-158). Another study conducted by Desai (1995:311) in Bombay shows that community participation through community organizations represented by the community leader does not help to improve the poor migrants' socio-economic status. Therefore, Desai suggests that future research should focus on analyzing the ways in which urban NGOs are performing through 'popular participation' to meet the poor urban dweller's needs.

Similarly, at the international level, HABITAT (1996:384) and the World Bank (1990:4) cite NGO development programs for the poor, including urban squatter communities as a means of reaching the poor and eventually, helping them to improve their QOL. The 1995 World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen has recognized 'people-centred development (or popular participation)[13]' as the key to achieving social development (UNDP 1997:iii, 97). Apart from this development approach, the GOB undertook a rehabilitation program '*Ghare Phera* (Coming Back Home)' in 1999 with the assumption that, due to the inhuman situation in *basti,* those who have some land in the place of origin might be interested to return to their origin if they are supported by some facilities. Therefore, intended return migrants, those who have land, were allocated loans from the government bank to help them in resettlement in their origin so that they might have a better life than in the *basti.* However, there has been a growing concern among academics, researchers, and NGO activists about the correctness of the selection criteria of migrants for rehabilitation in the area of origin. (Rahman 2001:57).

[13] The concept of this form of development is discussed in Section 2.3.2.

1.2 *Defining the research questions*

The above discussion on urban poor indicates that there are three focal themes which act as the setting of the problem: causes of migration, the achieved QOL in *basti*, and which development approaches or interventions can be successful in addressing the *basti* problems in Dhaka. In other words, to study the phenomenon of the rapid rise in *basti* and find out some remedial measures for handling this phenomenon, it is important to understand the factors triggering the migration decisions of rural poor, how these decisions affect their lives in terms of the facets of socio-economic achievements at the destination, and development approaches which can help them to improve their lives either in the place of destination or origin. Nor are the focal themes mutually exclusive. In fact, these factors overlap and are interconnected in the whole process of migration, which can be termed 'Comprehensive Poverty-Induced Migration'[14]. Therefore, the aim of this section is to define the specific research questions on the basis of the above three focal themes of this thesis.

With regard to the migration decision, there have been some arguments on who migrates to the city. Do the poorest or better off section of rural population migrate to the city and why? (Haan et al. 2000:16; Kothari 1980:257; Mehta 1982:99; Oberai and Singh 1983:62, 87; Sovani 1966:70-72; Yadava 1989:114). It is a basic fact that in the context of developing countries like Bangladesh rural poor migrate to cities in order to improve their overall living conditions through economic change, but translating their rural poverty into a relatively more recent problem of urban poverty (Hossain 1987:19). Thus, the previous research in Bangladesh has hypothesized that due to unemployment, landlessness, natural hazards, river erosion and flood, the poor are pushed from rural areas to Dhaka (Ahsanullah et al. 1999:25; BBS 1989:32; 1999b:36; Begum 1999:30; Huq-Hussain 1996a:23; UNICEF 1993:22). This type of general hypothesis was made because the migration process was analyzed and interpreted in terms of the symptoms or the immediate reported determinants (mainly in economic terms) (Nabi 1992:81). In fact, the reported reasons give only a partial picture of process, where only the circumstances which triggered the move are reported, and the complex set of factors which was really involved in the process is ignored (Hugo

[14] The term 'Poverty-Induced Migration' has also been used in Mukherji's research. This research has shown that a similar type of poor migration is taking place in many cities of the ESCAP region such as Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Dhaka, Bangkok, Jakarta and Metro Manila (Mukherji, 2000:2).

1978:170). In addition, migration behaviour of people may vary among different groups of population (Barnum and Sabot 1976 cited in Begum 1999:66), and this behaviour may change over time in many ways as different socio-economic activities take place both at the rural and urban ends. Therefore, the above discussion poses the first two research questions to be addressed: *what are the factors that influence people to move to Dhaka?, and how do migrants differ in these factors*?

On the other hand, it can be simply hypothesized that in the case of poverty-induced migration, the consequences of migration for poor migrants are related to the economic benefits. Nevertheless, it is important to note that for poor migrants who live in the *basti*, the outcome of migration is not simply a matter of better income compared to the place of origin because they are living in a sub-standard and socially isolated living environment. It is frequently argued that apart from the economic aspects, many migrants have a life of dehumanising chores and awful living conditions, in many cases worse than the rural conditions they left or their rural counterparts (Afsar 1999a, 1999b cited in BIDS 2001:97; Farid 1997:22). So, it is crucial to look at the outcomes of migration from a broader socio-economic point of view rather than in terms of income only.

In addition, the outcomes of migration are influenced by different migration behavioural factors such as the characteristics that migrants bring to the city and access to the network of kin and friends (Roberts 1978:89). Similarly, progress in Dhaka can be associated with various factors such as household characteristics, community characteristics and duration factors. This study focuses on the *basti* migrants, who live in households by and large, and it can be expected that the outcomes of migration are influenced by household characteristics. Moreover, community integration or social organizations in the community in which the squatter lives may play an important role in urban life because, with time, migrants begin to participate in a wide range of community social networks (Ross 1973:64-65, 70). Furthermore, the length of urban residence has been used to differentiate the achievements of migrants in many studies (Oberai and Singh 1983:275; Wiebe 1975:2). In Dhaka, a general concept found in previous literature is that the improvement of some aspects of QOL are associated with the length of stay of migrants (Afsar 2000:142; Paul-Majumder et al. 1996:14). In relation to the consequences of migration, therefore, two research questions are adopted in this thesis: *how poorly do migrants lead their livelihoods*

in basti?, *and what are the significant ways in which the QOL of poor migrants in basti vary and why*?

The purpose of setting the above four research questions is to understand the variation in the composition of urban poor and their achieved QOL for policy simulations. In relation to both causes and consequences of migration, this study strongly questions the extent to which we can make meaningful generalizations about poor migrants in *basti* so that remedial measures can be taken to address *basti* problems as well as to reduce urban poverty. In the policy simulation context, development approaches such as organizational interventions to improve the QOL in *basti* and the likelihood of return migration for migrants' rehabilitation in their places of origin are examined because these are most recent and commonly discussed approaches in Bangladesh, as noted in the earlier discussion of options for ameliorating *basti* conditions. There has been a lot of debate about the viability of these two development approaches. For instance, researchers and the donors raise the question about the accessibility of the most disadvantaged people to the development programs in rural areas of Bangladesh (Evans et al. 1999:420; Hashemi 1997:109-111; Pischke et al. 1997:37; Rahman and Razzaque 2000:1). This concern brings the effect of organizational interventions on the QOL into question. Similarly, as mentioned in the earlier discussion, academics, researchers and NGO activists are not convinced about the likelihood of migrants' return to their origin. In this regard, it is important to investigate the factors that motivate migrants to remain in the city, or to return to their places of origin (Goldstein et al. 1974:1). Therefore, two policy-oriented research questions are posed here to examine the likely effectiveness of these two development approaches, and these research questions are: *what are the factors that influence migrants to remain in Dhaka or to return to origin*?, *and how do the organizational interventions (NGOs) help to improve the QOL of migrants in basti*?

In sum, this thesis is designed to address the above six important research questions. These correlated questions characterize this study as a comprehensive migration study, in which policy implications are sought to ameliorate the conditions of *basti* living in Dhaka.

1.3 *Rationale of the study*

This study is highly relevant to the emerging key issues in relation to the management of urban population change in Bangladesh. Firstly, Bangladesh is still not a very urbanized country because only 23.4 per cent of its population live in urban areas in 2001 (Table 1.1), and this level is far below the Asian average in 2000 of 36.7 per cent (United Nations 2001:26). Given this low level of urbanization and narrowing economic opportunities in rural areas, further rapid urbanization seems to be inevitable or at least will be a formidable challenge for the next several years in Bangladesh. Similarly, due to the bias of development to SMAs, the pattern of urbanization is expected to continue to be concentrated in some large cities, particularly in Dhaka. As a result, the burden of poverty is shifting from rural areas to Dhaka, leading to a dramatic increase in the number of *basti* in Dhaka. Poor migrants cannot afford any kind of decent shelter with a minimum of basic amenities because they are economically poor, and consequently, they are compelled to live in a pitiable condition in the *basti*.

Therefore, any remedial measure to ameliorate the *basti* problems requires an in-depth understanding of both causes and consequences of migration. But no study has systematically analyzed *basti* livelihoods in relation to both causes and consequences of migration. It is hypothesized that the rural poor migrate to cities to escape from rural poverty or to improve their living conditions through economic changes. But from a policy simulation point of view, this process is not understood well enough to address the problems of *basti* settlements, as migration is a heterogeneous process, both in terms of the causes and consequences of migration (Mills and Pernia 1994:26). In particular, a large number of studies have been conducted on NGO programs in rural areas of Bangladesh (Evans et al. 1999; Goetz and Sen Gupta 1996; Hashemi 1997; Rahman and Razzaque 2000), but how the same concept works in urban areas still remains unexplored. Similarly, no study in Bangladesh has analyzed the return aspect of migration which has been conceptualized in the rehabilitation program, '*Ghare Phera*'.

A second rational for the study is related to the international organization's attention to urban poverty. Although, through the 1976 Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements (Habitat I), worldwide attention was drawn to improve the quality of human life, overall

living standards in urban areas have not improved in Bangladesh since then (McGee and Yeung 1986:9; Miah et al. 1988:1). Twenty years later, the Second Global Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) was held in 1996 in Istanbul, Turkey. The conference emphasized urban poverty issues, and the international communities agreed to address the challenge of an urban world and to improve shelter and the living and working environment of people. Similarly, the Rio Summit - the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, 1992 - adopted Agenda 21, the historic blue print for sustainable development and its stress on the need to improve the social, economic and environmental quality of human settlements and the living and working environments of all people, in particular the urban and rural poor (HABITAT 1996:xxii). In accordance with the agendas of all these summits, the GOB, UNICEF, ADB and various NGOs recently have given serious attention to the urban poverty situation in Bangladesh.

The approach adopted for this research provides the third significance of this research. The issues about urban poor and their way of life have not been seriously assessed until recently, and whatever has been done has been mainly related to their economic development. Similarly, rural-urban migration has been an integral part of the analysis of urban poverty (Amis 2001:356; World Bank 2000:109). It is important to understand every dimension of urban poverty and its causes in order to design and implement different types of economic and social interventions to effect change and thereby raise the QOL. The approach of this study, therefore, is to build upon all relevant ideas[15] and to include a dynamic framework to understand poverty-induced migration, a wider definition of poverty than a simple income approach and a development approach.

Finally, the formation of *basti* in Dhaka is not a specific or isolated phenomenon but has become an integrated aspect of prevailing models of urban planning and development. The understanding of the *basti* phenomena through research will not solve the problem, but effective actions will not ensue without it. This research is expected to help administrators and planners to understand the grass-roots problems of urban poverty issues in order to take remedial measures before they reach a catastrophic level. Although rural poverty undeniably affects a greater proportion of population than urban poverty in Bangladesh,

[15] All ideas are discussed in Chapter 2 to conceptualize the approach of this study.

urban poverty cannot be ignored, as the flight of rural poor towards Dhaka is considerable. Hence, this comprehensive study is timely and important to deal effectively with the dual correlated problems of rapid flow of people to Dhaka and the appropriate interventions for ameliorating *basti* problems in Dhaka. The overall importance of this research lies in Bradshaw's (1992 cited in Saunders 1994:221) observation:

> We study poverty because it is bad - bad for adults, bad for children and bad for society. We study poverty in order to reveal it, to understand it, to explain it, and to encourage and assist, both by direct and indirect means, policy makers to do something about solving it.

1.4 *Objectives of the study*

The following specific objectives have been defined in line with the six research questions adopted in Section 1.2 to carry out this research:

1. To examine the factors affecting migration to Dhaka.
2. To study the QOL of poor migrants living in *basti*.
3. To determine factors influencing the QOL of *basti* dwellers.
4. To examine the factors that influence migrants' intentions to return to the place of origin or to remain in Dhaka.
5. To examine the ways organizational interventions act in improving the QOL of *basti* dwellers.
6. To examine the characteristics of participants in organizations and the effect of participation on the QOL.
7. To identify the issues that need to be addressed in order to improve *basti* conditions.

As this study is characterized as exploratory and policy-relevant research, the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data is directed to responding to the research questions of section 1.2 rather than to proving these hypotheses.

1.5 *Scope of the study*

Whilst the broad topic of this research is the issue of causes and consequences of poverty-induced migration in Bangladesh, it is obvious that such a broad topic cannot be covered adequately in a single work. However, this study has been designed from a social science

perspective founded on interdisciplinary and holistic principles. One of the main ideals of this research is that it is closely intertwined with social justice. It is a conception of justice in which equality of opportunity for welfare is the main principle and this conception is advanced by Sen under the title 'capability' (Cohen 1993:10). In accordance with social justice principles, this research emphasizes social (such as the violation of housing right in terms of eviction and access to participation in social organizations) and physical environmental (such as access to basic urban amenities) issues, and access to education and health care. This requires a combination of quantitative and qualitative inquiry, which will help to interpret the quantitative analysis with participants' insights or qualitative perceptions.

In Bangladesh, the examination of the consequences of migration remains virtually unexplored for further research (Huq-Hussain 1996a:208). In order to explore it, this study is going another step ahead to assess the QOL of poor migrants in Dhaka's *basti*, where equal emphases are given to both monetary and non-monetary variables. Finally, as the study looks at the development approaches based on both the origin and destination, respondents' opinions or problems are sought to identify priority areas for their development.

1.6 *Limitations of the study*

There are some major limitations in the study. Firstly, this study cannot reach all categories of poor migrants, as there are other poor migrants in Dhaka who are not *basti* dwellers (for classifications of urban poor please see Section 3.1) to whom the results could not directly be applied. More especially, the experiences of the study population may not be referenced back to the general population. Also, this study is not able to capture the experiences of return migrants.

Secondly, due to lack of resources and time constraints, this micro-level analysis is based on information on the households' circumstances at the time of survey, not at the time of migration. This cross-sectional analysis, that is migration consequences at a point in time, may miss some information due to the fact that people's living standards are longitudinal in nature (McDonald et al. 1995:11).

Finally, a number of development approaches such as resettlement (relocation), *basti* improvement, rehabilitation and self-help can be examined to address the *basti* phenomenon in Dhaka. But this research is limited to investigation of the extent to which the rehabilitation of migrants in their places of origin and participation in social organizations based on the self-help concept can be undertaken to ameliorate the *basti* situation in Dhaka.

1.7 *Operational definition of terms used in the thesis*

The purpose of this section is to define some important terms which are used throughout this research.

Migration: The definition of migration varies from study to study, depending on the nature of the study and other socio-economic issues. According to the multilingual demographic dictionary (United Nations 1958:46), migration is a form of 'geographical mobility' or 'spatial mobility' between one geographical unit and another, generally involving a change of residence from the place of origin to place of destination. Such migration is called permanent migration and should be distinguished from other forms of movement, which do not involve a permanent change of residence. But in this definition, there is no time criterion that migrants have to stay for a minimum period of time at a new geographical location, which is very important in the context of Dhaka City where a large number of seasonal migrants work in the informal sector. In the 1991 Population Census in Bangladesh, migration has been defined as movement based on three particular criteria. Firstly, the present place of residence (new geographical unit) must be different from the previous place of residence. Secondly, the person must have an intention to settle at the present residence, and finally, under a time criterion every person has to live in the present place for at least six months (BBS 1997:10). A number of people come to Dhaka, leaving their families or relatives or homesteads in the place of origin, but they are not seasonal migrants because they normally work in Dhaka and send remittances to their families. Similarly, some people are coming to Dhaka with an intention to settle, but are not sure whether they will live there in the future. Taking these issues into account, I define migration as a residential shift to Dhaka where a migrant lives in Dhaka for at least six

months a year. In addition, a migrated household refers to a household whose head is a migrant.

Urban poor: This study accepts Sen's argument that the identification of the poor is an exercise in which the focus is on the minimum living conditions (Sen 1985:31). However, there is no universally agreed list of minimum living conditions based on meeting basic needs. In considering the settlement situations in Dhaka, however, *basti* areas are considered as poor because it is easy to find a number of indicators in these areas known to be associated with poor households. In this way, the BBS (1989) has defined urban poor as the low income group of urban residents, who do not own any urban house or who cannot afford normal expenses for urban housing, and live in *basti*. In reality, most poor migrants to Dhaka find their shelter in the *basti*. Therefore, an urban poor household is defined as one that lives in a *basti* area. However, this study agrees, as noted in Section 1.6, that there are large numbers of poor living in other situations in Dhaka, but this study is not able to address their life styles and problems.

Basti: As mentioned earlier, the term '*basti*' generally refers to slums, but there is no universally agreed definition of a *basti*. However, a definition has been developed for this study in Section 3.1.

Community: The term 'community' differs from the term 'society' due to the fact that the latter is a vague and large concept. A society is the basic large-scale human group, which is a larger measure than a community. Society is a functioning group, which is achieved through social interactions, the emergence of consensus and a common culture. Society is not restricted to localities or geographical areas. On the other hand, a community is generally thought to need a territorial base and a collectivity of people who are engaged in economic and political activities through a self-governing social unit. In other words, it is a group of individuals having many of the characteristics of society, but on a smaller scale, and with less extensive and coordinated common interests (Fairchild 1944:52, 300; Mitchell 1968:32, 194). A community, therefore, refers to the local unit in which a group of people resides, and in the case of this study, this local unit is a *basti*. In contrast, a society or social condition refers to the situation of Dhaka as a whole.

Household: With a concept similar to the BBS (1998:101-102) concept, this study defines a household as a dwelling unit where one or more persons live and eat together under a common cooking arrangement. Therefore, household members are considered to be those persons who live in a household irrespective of the relationship between them, and who take food together from the same kitchen. Similarly, a household head is a person who is acknowledged as such by other members of the household.

Quality of life: As discussed in detail in Section 2.2, poverty should not be defined or measured only in monetary terms, particularly by using the income level. Poverty is a multi-dimensional concept, and therefore, must be measured by its entire dimension. In addition, people's own experiences about the progress of their lives should be related to objective situations in order to assess the change in their lives. Study of such aspects of human life is grouped under the term 'Quality of Life'.

Organization: In this study organizations refer to social organizations. Theoretically, the basic unit of social organization the nuclear family in a bilateral kinship system (Mangin 1970:21). In this kinship residential unit, the extended family is the next level of social organization, which contains at least two nuclear families (Lomnitz 1974:142). Beyond nuclear or extended families there are other types of social units, although there is no official prescribed or established structure of these types of organizations. Generally, social organization means the interdependence of parts, which is an essential characteristic of all enduring collective entities: groups, communities and societies. Different sociologists name these interdependent parts differently. But in a simple way, social organizations refer to shared activities and understanding through social interactions (Mitchell 1968:172-173). However, in this study organizations refer to social organizations (or associations) in which the poor can be involved directly in the process of any type of development at individual, group and community level, and all these types of organizations are termed 'grassroots self-help organizations' as explained in Section 2.3.2. Hence, social organizations whose aim is not related to the improvement of the QOL such as different types of clubs and religious oriented organizations are not examined in this study.

Different types of social organizations operating in *basti* are described in detail in Section 3.6.2. Three types of organizations have been found during the survey: NGO group-based

organizations (hereafter termed as NGO groups), community-based organizations (CBOs) and a group of dwellers' own organizations (revolving credit groups) (hereafter termed as own associations). Among these organizations, NGO groups and dwellers' own organizations are basically group-based credit organizations (the latter is not as common as the former one), while the aim of CBOs is to improve mainly the physical conditions of the community. However, most development programs which are directed towards strengthening the socio-economic positions of the disadvantaged people through these grassroots organizations are organized by NGOs, and therefore, their activities are generally treated as organizational interventions in improving the QOL of urban poor in *basti*.

1.8 *Structure of the thesis*

This study is organized into eight chapters. Chapter 1 presents an introduction to this research, including the background information, research questions, the importance of the study and objectives. Chapter 2 concentrates on discussion of pertinent concepts and theories relevant to the design of the research. A brief discussion of poor settlements in Dhaka and the overall situation of *basti* are presented in Chapter 3. How government and NGOs are responding with their different interventions is reviewed in this chapter. Chapter 4 provides the selection procedure of the study areas including differences in socio-political settings between these areas, methods of data collection including demographic characteristics of surveyed population, other relevant issues such as the quality of data and its processing, and methods of data analysis. An in-depth analysis of the migration process is presented in the following Chapter 5. Chapter 6 presents the consequences of migration in terms of achieved QOL in *basti*, and its variation among households. Chapter 7 focuses on two development approaches based on both the place of origin and destination to examine the likelihood of these two approaches in ameliorating the *basti* problems in Dhaka. Finally, Chapter 8 discusses the policy issues based on the findings of this study for improving the *basti* situations as well as reducing urban poverty in Dhaka.

Chapter 2: The Conceptual Framework

Migration is generally considered as a process of change, adjustment, adaptation and assimilation. In recent years, the consequences of migration have revived interest in the links between migration and socio-economic outcomes (Oropesa and Landale 2000). Under the concept of poverty-induced migration people are compelled to leave their place of origin in the hope that the new destination will provide opportunities to survive. Hence, there are some particular and basic objectives of this migratory process, and until and unless the degree or level of achievement of those objectives is analyzed, migration research must be incomplete. Both the causes and consequences of migration have been a concern of different disciplines such as economics, sociology, geography, demography and philosophy. In general, economists research urban poverty with economic measures such as income, expenditure, employment, skills etc, and economic studies are not normally based on the stages of the life cycle. On the other hand, sociologists emphasize the social and cultural issues of poverty and the development of alternative theories of poverty (Campbell et al. 1976:2; Saunders 1994:221).

Given the nature of this research, it is impossible to put the research issues into an existing conceptual framework. In conducting comprehensive migration research (both causes and consequences), Greenwood (1975:412) indicates two major obstacles: a reasonably 'complete' model of migration would be extremely complex, and data relevant to such comprehensive studies of migration are limited. The aim of this chapter is to develop a comprehensive framework for carrying out this research by reviewing literature. Available studies are examined to show how different ideas can be conceptualized more coherently in relation to the three focal themes of this research discussed in Section 1.2. In the following three sections, an understanding of each theme is developed in order to conceptualize a comprehensive framework.

2.1 *Conceptualization of migration*

As migration streams have been studied in different disciplines, different opinions have emerged on the decision to move. Generally, economists have analyzed the determinants of migration with economic variables, sociologists have contributed by introducing other

social intervening factors such as the relationship between prior and current movers, and demographers have analyzed mainly the selectivity issues such as age and sex. This section reviews the theoretical and empirical findings of some migration studies to develop a framework for analyzing the causes and pattern of poverty-induced migration towards Dhaka.

Ravenstein made a study of migration in the United Kingdom between the Censuses of 1871 and 1881 which is considered the starting point for formulating theories of internal migratory process (Lee 1966:47). In two classic papers, Ravenstein developed a theory called 'The Laws of Migration' in which he pointed out the factors affecting the decision to migrate. The major laws are as follows[16]:

1. Distance: The great body of migrants only proceed a short distance, and long distance migrants go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce and industry.
2. Migration by stages: 'Currents of migration', in which a country's inhabitants immediately flock into a nearby rapidly growing town, and the gaps thus left in that rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote areas.
3. Stream and counter-stream: Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current.
4. Urban-rural differences in propensity to migrate: The natives of towns are less migratory than are those from rural areas.
5. Predominance of females: Among short-distance migrants, females are more migratory than males.

In his several hypotheses, Ravenstein emphasized distance between the place of origin and destination, and indicated that a general economic motive was the primary reason for mobility. While Ravenstein's laws were considered a broad generalization, building on this foundation, researchers from different disciplines have developed sophisticated theories concerning migration and have tested their hypotheses in a number of studies (Gottschang 1982:116). Stouffer (1940) made an addition to sociological migration theory by proposing

[16] These laws are summarized from Lee (1966: 48) and Todaro (1976: 15).

a conceptual framework, in which he assumed that there was no necessary relationship between mobility and distance. Rather he postulated a direct relationship between mobility and opportunities, and hypothesized that:

> The number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities (Stouffer 1940:846-847).

Stouffer tried to establish the impact of distance on the migratory process which was highly emphasized by Ravenstein, and showed that distance was not a factor as long as the opportunities were available in the destination. His contribution to migration theory was to isolate the distance component from the 'pull' and 'push' concepts, but the relationship between mobility and other social and demographic factors remained unresolved in his theory.

In conducting a study on mobility within cities using a social research technique, Rossi (1955:8) developed a framework, called an 'accounting scheme', in which he divided reasons for movements into two categories: reasons which pertained to the decision to move out of the former home ('push'), and those that pertained to the choice among places to move ('pull'). He found that each individual move was determined by a household's needs, dissatisfactions and aspirations. He also found that mobility was, to some extent, as 'social mobility', since the location of a residence had a prestige value. Some of the households, who were strongly dissatisfied with their housing's social environment, brought their residence into line (new location) with their prestige needs (Rossi 1955:177-179). Under a similar framework, Bogue (1963::405) argued in IUSSP's 1961 International Population Conference that a clear distinction between the general rate of migration (volume of movement) and differentials in migration (selectivity of movement) should be maintained in migration research. He pointed out from the US data that migration was markedly selective in some way with respect to every factor considered in his study, and there were two measures of migration decisions; an origin differential (push) and a destination differential (pull). He suggested that the variation in the selectivity of migration should be explained by the combination of origin and destination factors, not solely by one (Bogue 1963::407). By putting forward the above arguments, both Rossi and Bogue made a significant contribution to migration theories in understanding the main factors related to

migration decisions. But the main flaw of these migration frameworks is that they do not address how these push and pull factors are influenced by other intervening or personal factors, and hence, Bogue concluded that migration differentials (i.e. push and pull factors) were not an ultimate end of migration research, other phenomena were to be explained (Bogue 1963::407).

In reviewing the above frameworks and formulating a general theory in a 'Push-Pull' framework, Lee (1966:50), a sociologist, introduced a set of origin and destination factors, a set of intervening obstacles and a series of personal factors to formulate hypotheses about the volume of migration, the development of stream and counter stream, and the characteristics of migrants. Lee mentioned some factors at origin and destination could be positive (+) or negative (-) which attract a person to the place (pull) or repel him from it (push). There are other factors to which people are essentially indifferent. He suggested that between every two points (origin and destination), there would be a set of intervening obstacles, and he did not consider distance as the most important obstacle as raised in Ravenstein's theory. According to Lee, an intervening obstacle can be simply the cost of moving or any physical or legal barriers. Lee pointed out that personal sensitiveness, intelligence and awareness of conditions of places also played a role in the move, and these personal aspects depended upon personal contacts or upon sources of information which are not universally available (Lee 1966:51). He concluded that the decision to migrate was never totally rational, and for some persons the rational component is much less than the irrational (Lee 1966:51).

However, Lee's theory has been criticized as too general a framework to study the internal migration process. In particular, Todaro (1976:19) has criticized Lee's theory mentioning that it is of limited help for policy analysis in developing countries because of its high degree of generality and interdependence of many of its hypotheses. He has argued that in practice it is very hard to separate push from pull factors (Todaro 1976:28). From the economic point of view, Todaro has developed a migration model which postulates that despite the high urban unemployment in developing countries, migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expected rather than actual earnings. But he has indicated that migration is a selective process, affecting individuals with certain economic, social, educational and demographic characteristics (Todaro 1976:28). In connection with

rural urban migration, Todaro (1969:139; 1976:29) has pointed to two principal determinants: (i) the rural-urban real income differential and (ii) the probability of obtaining an urban job.

Like Todaro, other research in Latin America has concluded that employment opportunity was the most salient factor in the balance sheet of rural-urban migration. In one study, migrants left their home due to lack of work and the reason for migration to Cuidad Guayana (Venezuela) was to take advantage of job opportunities (MacDonald and MacDonald 1968:434). In African research, Caldwell (1969), a demographer, revealed the selectivity issues of migration. He found that young people aged 15-29 years were predominant in the rural-urban migrant stream in Ghana, and there were also more males than females. He also found a relationship between literacy and rural-urban migration as educated people were predominant in the migrant stream (Caldwell 1969:84-85). In another study in the United States, Morrison included social factors and the past spatial experiences of migrants in a multiple regression model. He showed that mobility was facilitated and curtailed by several social factors. Age, type of housing, poverty status, relationship to head and marital status all exerted an effect on the propensity to move. The prominent effect was shown by last year's residence (living in different house last year), while duration of residence had a moderate influence (Morrison 1971:176). In this way, Morrison contributed some important variables such as past spatial experiences and poverty status to our understanding of the decision to move.

Mabogunje (1970), a geographer, focused on the decision related factors that lead to rural–urban migration in the African context. According to his 'system approach', first the characteristics of potential migrants should be addressed such as age, sex, education, religion etc. Attention was then focussed on two sub-systems (rural and urban), and the social, economic and other relationships (adjustment mechanisms). According to his rural-urban sub-system concept, how rural sub-systems such as family and community motivate people to migrate, and on the other end, how the urban sub-systems such as the city administration and employment agencies offer cheap housing and employment opportunities to absorb migrants are basic elements. Similarly, at both ends, the decision to move sets in motion a series of adjustments (Mabogunje 1970:5-7). As with Mabogunje, Pryor (1975:2) considered the social and cultural context of migration has a crucial role in

either facilitating or inhibiting the interplay of economic and other motivations and demographic differentials which result in an individual's spatial relocation. Greenwood (1975:410-411) reviewed the findings of previous migration studies and concluded that several factors such as distance, information about destination, income, employment status and other personal characteristics (age, education and race) influenced the decision to migrate. But he indicated that still there were some unresolved economic and non-economic factors for which distance is a proxy.

Another aspect of migration is the tie between the destination and the native places. Gugler (1969: 146 cited in Hugo 1978:250) found that most urban dwellers in Africa live in a 'dual-system' in which even those who seemed fully committed to an urban way of life maintained close links with their villages. Caldwell (1969:140) found that a very few migrants who had begun a new life in the city in Ghana forgot the old, and the strongest contacts which the migrants maintained with the village were their revisits. Similarly, Hugo, in his study of population mobility in Java, has found that the majority of permanent migrants from west Javan villages maintained close links with the village by revisiting, exchanging letters and receiving visitors from the village. Moreover, he has mentioned that one of the most important results of maintenance of strong rural-urban ties is the remission of money and goods sent by migrants to the village (Hugo 1978:253-254, 264). However, according to Caldwell and Hugo, both social, emotional and economic factors are closely associated with the relationship between the destination and origin (Caldwell 1969:170; Hugo 1978:264).

This foregoing section has explored different theories of the migration process. The review indicates that there are two major concerns that have directed migration research and its outcomes: the discipline (such as demography, geography, sociology and economics) under which the research is conducted, and the place in which the research is conducted. These two points are clearly indicated by Todaro (1976:26) as he criticizes other research for tending to focus on social, cultural and psychological factors, while recognizing but not carefully evaluating or quantifying the importance of economic variables. Regarding the second point, Todaro mentions that both economic and non-economic factors may vary not only between nations and regions but also within defined geographical areas and populations (Todaro 1976:26).

Different opinions have emerged on the decision to move, and in a broader context it has been found that both economic and non-economic factors are involved in the decision to move. But the primary aim of migration is likely to be related to economic factors. Even the pushes and pulls are viewed as economic factors in much of the literature (Otudeko 1977:7). In addition, the literature has shown that migration is a selective process, affecting individuals with certain demographic, educational and economic characteristics. However, the impact of other factors, called 'non-economic' factors by Todaro (1976:26), which facilitate the migration process have not been well documented in the literature. In this regard, Mabogunje has defined these factors as sub-systems, which are an integral part of the migrant's transformation in the African context (Mabogunje 1970:5).

Therefore, given emphasis on the objectives and the target population of this research, the above discussion shows that some ideas can be taken from different models to incorporate in a framework to understand the migratory process of the rural poor towards Dhaka. On the basis of the above discussion, the following elements are incorporated into a simple framework to understand the poverty-induced migration process towards Dhaka. The framework is not only concerned with the immediate determinants of migration or reported reasons, but with major implications and ramifications of the process.

1. Push-pull factors: These factors are directly linked with the question why people move. Therefore, reported immediate reasons for migration are considered to be useful to categorize either push or pull factors.

2. Selectivity of movement: As found earlier, migration is a selective process. Therefore, like Todaro (1976:27), demographic (age, sex), educational and economic (previous labour force status including occupations, asset or land holding status) characteristics of migrants are included in the framework to determine the types of migrants or who migrates.

3. Patterns of movement: This element is generally about the spatial dimension of the migration process, which is mostly addressed by two terms 'stage[17]' or 'step' in past studies (Greenwood 1975:405; Hugo 1978:90; Lee 1966:48). However, the demographic dimensions of the migration process of *basti* dwellers should be included in this element of the framework as this study is based on household data, and therefore, it becomes important to analyze whether households migrate to Dhaka together or step by step. In addition, in the new economics theory of migration, migration decisions are assumed to be made by larger units of related people- typically households because these are in a position to act collectively for their common economic well-being by diversifying the allocation of household resources (Massey et al. 1991:436). So the issue of whether migrants move directly to Dhaka or by stages in terms of both spatial and demographic dimensions is included in this framework.

4. Rural-urban control subsystems: According to Mabogunje's systems approach, rural subsystems are mainly family and village community (Mabogunje 1970:5-6), and on the other hand, urban subsystems can be distinguished into two major elements, the set of interpersonal kinship and friendship relations and the formal institutions such as the city administration (Hugo 1978:203). The reality is that the government or the formal institutions have treated *basti* dwellers mostly in a negative way (see Section 3.5). Therefore, the set of interpersonal kinship and friendship relations through family or community both in rural and urban ends is examined in this framework rather than the formal institutions.

5. Urban-rural links: As found in the literature, the pattern of rural-urban migration is very much characterized by a strong tie between migrants and their villages. The review has shown that this tie is an outcome of the migrants' emotional links to their native places or their social or economic responsibilities to their relatives or friends who remain in the village. Moreover, these links might be related to the

[17] Occasionally the terms stage and step are used synonymously, but they are quite different. Stage migration involves a series of single movements by different groups. In other words, it refers to a social pattern, a process by which some groups move from the countryside to villages or small towns, other from small towns to large cities. But step migration refers to several moves by one particular migrant (Lacey 1981: 40; Standing 1984: 52).

likelihood of return to the origin, particularly in the case of migrants who live in unauthorized *basti*. Therefore, the nature and strength of contacts that are maintained by migrants with the place of origin are examined in this framework.

2.2 *Concept and measurement of migrants' achievements*

The previous section has developed the first part of the comprehensive framework to understand the migratory process. The second part of the framework needs to be developed to conceptualize the consequences of migration and its measurement techniques. As this study considers the socio-economic outcome in destination as the consequence of migration for migrants, the first concern is the issue of whether an income-based measure embodies those outcomes or whether a broader concept is needed in which wider aspects of life are visualized. The second concern is how outcomes can be measured. This study is solely concentrated on poor migrants living in *basti*, and therefore, consequences and their measurement should be developed in relation to poverty, as there is no denying that a strong relationship exists between slums and poverty (Smith 1981:86). The concept and measurement of poverty has always been a subject for debate due to the difficulties in defining poverty. Oyen (1996:4) comments on poverty research as follows:

> A field where neither the concepts and methodologies, nor the theories are precise enough to be useful working tools.

Therefore, the purpose of this section is to review the literature on the concepts and measurement of poverty so that the socio-economic achievements of migrants in Dhaka's *basti* can be assessed appropriately in relation to the quality of achieved urban life.

Indirect methods of poverty measurement

There are several concepts of measuring poverty or the way of human life. First, the definition of poverty or poor was primarily introduced by Booth and Rowntree between 1880 and 1900 (Hartwell 1988:8). Since then, the most common indicators of poverty have been 'income', and frequently 'consumption expenditures' have been an alternative of the former on the ground that respondents do not like to give accurate information about their income. Income based indirect measures are 'absolute poverty' and 'relative poverty'. The absolute or subsistence level of poverty was first operationalized in Rowntree's work in

York in England. Rowntree defined poverty as a level of income to obtain the necessities of merely physical efficiency (Biggs 1961:38). On the other hand, under the concept of relative poverty any household income could be ranked relative to that of other households, and if it is less than a defined level, the household could be considered to be below the poverty level. Generally, the concept of absolute poverty is used in the developing countries as most people in these countries struggle to meet their basic needs, and live at a subsistence level. In contrast, the concept of poverty in relative terms is more likely to be appropriate to the developed world where the ascent of the social and economic environments has already taken place, and judgements on availability of these facilities to one person compared to another can be made. But, the aim of these two approaches is to make a 'cut-off' point called a 'poverty line', defined as the level of income below which people are deemed to be poor.

Definitions that set a poverty line to divide the population into poor and non-poor are often inadequate because this 'fuzzy' line fails to explain the severity of poverty and how far people are living below the poverty line (Kawani 1980a, Sen 1976 and Johnson 1987 cited in Saunders 1994:222). There are other alternative methods to measure poverty such as 'income gap', which measures the additional income that would be needed to take all the poor over the cut-off line (Sen 1992:103). A common alternative approach is the 'expenditure approach', which determines the poor by measuring the proportion of food expenditure compared to the household's total expenditure. Another similar approach is the 'budget standard approach', which is the traditional approach used in Europe and Australia. It costs the commodities defined by experts as being required to meet basic needs, and focuses on the level of satisfaction with the specified basic needs (Brownlee 1990:5). All these approaches are measured in monetary terms based on the understanding that poverty arises from a lack of income.

From indirect to direct methods

By using an indirect method, it is possible to identify households who cannot meet their basic needs due to their income, but there are other social facilities, which are directly related to the level of quality of life (QOL). These facilities should be provided by the concerned public departments or urban formal subsystems. With a small amount of income, people can meet their simple basic needs such as food and clothing, but social facilities

such as education, health care and recreation cannot be availed of unless these are provided to the community. These services can be considered to be fundamental rights of citizens and it is the role of an institutional welfare state to ensure that these services are available regardless of capacity to pay (Erikson 1993:80; McDonald et al. 1995:8). Therefore, there might be a weak relationship between the level of deprivation of these social facilities and the level of income. On the other hand, disadvantaged people might have a low living standard due to their exclusion from these development programs.

In the context of a poor developing country like Bangladesh, access to public or subsidized services, such as water, sanitation, health facilities and schools are important components of the way of life, and household income measures do not incorporate these components. The argument here is that poverty in terms of the way of life cannot be overcome by cash transfers alone; other social welfare interventions are needed. In this regard, Sen (1992:114) presents an example from a study by McCord and Freeman, indicating that men in the Harlem region of the prosperous city of New York have less chance of reaching the age of 40 or more than Bangladeshi men have. This is not because men of Harlem have lower incomes than the average Bangladesh. The outcome is more connected with access to public services and to social factors such as crime. In accordance with this concept, a WHO (cited in HABITAT 1996:108) report argues:

> Poverty defined solely by level of personal income cannot cover health, life expectancy, literacy or access to public goods or common property resources. Clean drinking water, for example, is essential for a reasonable standard of living but is not reflected in consumption or income as usually measured. ... Likewise, such aspects of a minimum quality of life as security against crime and physical violence and participation in the economic, cultural and political activities of the community are also not revealed in income-based poverty definitions.

Therefore, a need for a broader conceptualization of poverty has been discussed since the latter 1970s in response to the failure of development strategies to improve the welfare of the poor in developing countries (Bilsborrow et al. 1998:4). More importantly, it is argued that poverty must be addressed in all its dimensions and definitely not income alone (UNDP 1997:5). As Saunders (1994:231) argues, the level of living approach is multi-dimensional and each separate indicator has a different form of measurement. Similarly, McDonald et al. (1995:9) argue that living standards must be measured in a multi-

dimensional way because many outcomes are not convertible to a single value (money), and that outcomes across different spheres of life should be measured and evaluated one by one. As the ultimate aim of this research is related to the development of disadvantaged population in *basti*, it is important to look at every aspect of life, not only those measured in monetary terms. Hence, the following sections highlight different broader concepts of the measurement of poverty or the way of life.

Concept of deprivation

In arguing the necessity of broadening the measurement of poverty, Townsend (1979) has pioneered the direct 'relative deprivation method' based upon aspects of the observed living conditions of people and in which the actual experience of participating in aspects of social life has been given priority. He has compiled a summary 'deprivation index[18]' based on twelve indicators of deprivation covering major aspects of material and social human life. A score for different indicators to individuals and families has been added up to measure the level of deprivation: the higher the score the lower the participation (Townsend 1979:251). However, the main criticism of this approach to the measurement of poverty is that it does not explain implicitly the extent of poor life. As Hutton (1990:183) argues, there is a need to measure standards of living within a broader context than Townsend's deprivation index. Although there is no unitary and clear-cut 'style of living', in practice, certain types of deprivation Townsend has examined could be broadened again for a particular community by considering its socio-economic and cultural situations. Townsend also has extensively revised and broadened his index of deprivation for use in his 1985-87 study (Brownlee 1990:14). It seems, therefore, that this approach is capable of indicating some aspects of life quality, accepting the fact that it is based only on deprivation measures.

The success of using this approach is contingent upon choosing the appropriate indicators on the ground, whether these are selected on the basis of the economic, social and cultural integration of a particular community, and whether they are applicable to the whole population of that community. A basic problem arises in using the concept of deprivation in this study. The material and social deprivation indicators conventionally used in this

[18] See Table A1 of Appendix-A

concept are appropriate for communities where the basic economic and social needs are met for most people, but not where severe deprivation is common.

Living standard approach

Apart from the deprivation concept, the 'living standard' or 'material well-being' approach, as a broader concept of poverty, has also been widely used both in developed and developing countries. In general practice, living standards refer to the material aspects of people's lives, and are measured in terms of 'meeting needs'. Therefore, in simple terms, a household with the highest standard of living is the household with widest access to material resources. However, there are problems in the quantification of the standard of living of households or individuals into a single measure (Travers and Richardson 1993:15). Given the socio-economic conditions in developing countries, the living standard approach has wide application, as it is equivalent to the basic needs approach which comprises a subsistence level of needs in terms of food, shelter, clothing, water, sanitation and a basic level of education. The needs approach can be seen as related to the indirect method of adequate cash income for meeting basic needs.

However, in the realization that other service and social factors impact on living conditions, living standard has been defined at a broader level by including non-income needs, such as health, education or skills, access to public services, physical environment and social participation. For instance, the 'Swedish level of living approach'[19] uses a broad range of indicators across a range of different types of resources and ways of life to assess the level of living conditions and participation. The Swedish welfare concept has been developed on the basis of the argument that many indicators are not transferable between each other. Resources defined in this concept include not only economic resources (income, savings, wealth), but also other types of non-economic resources (human capital, good health, social and political involvement), which lead to the achievement of a high level of living (outcomes). Control over different types of resources in the form of money, possessions, knowledge, social relations, security, social and political relations has been the central element of this concept on the assumption that through these resources a person can control and consciously direct his living conditions. Thus, these types of resources are very close to

[19] See Table A2 of Appendix-A

Sen's concept of 'capabilities'[20] (Erikson 1993:73). However, the Swedish concept is not based only on resources. The argument is made that it would be too restrictive if based on resources alone without adding essential conditions of the arenas in which the resources are to be used. Therefore, indicators of resources and way of life are used together to determine the level of living under this concept (Erikson 1993:74).

The main flaw of this approach is that it considers objective conditions without taking into account the qualitative or subjective experience of living conditions, in other words, the individual's own satisfaction[21] (perceptions) of his or her life situation. The fact is living standards can be measured by the researchers, but to evaluate the progress of migrants in destination compared to origin, self-assessed well-being of migrants should be studied. Todaro (1976:75) suggests that migrants' subjective perceptions and experiences are crucial issues for comprehensive research focused on the causes and consequences of internal migration. On the other hand, the use of self-concept affects or sense of well-being has been questioned on the grounds of reliability. In this regard this study supports Sen's argument:

> A poor, undernourished person, brought up in penury, may have learned to come to terms with a half-empty stomach, seizing joy in small comforts and desiring no more than what seems 'realistic'. But this mental attitude does not wipe out the fact of the person's deprivation (Sen 1985: 5 cited in Travers and Richardson 1993:16)

Measurement of the quality of life (QOL)

In considering the importance of the subjective dimension of the quality of human life, the concept of the QOL emerges. This concept addresses both the objective conditions under

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[20] According to Sen (1985: 36; 1993: 30), capability is the person's advantage evaluated in terms of his or her actual ability to achieve various valuable functionings as a part of living. Put in another way, capability is the people's potential such as knowledge, understanding, wisdom, which can be considered as a 'higher order' resource, enabling them to utilize the opportunities (termed as 'capabilities to function') available to him. Sen defines capabilities as what people can do or be with their entitlements which represent more than the human capital (Sen 1984 cited in Scoones 1998: 6). In addition, capability includes the notion of freedom because it reflects a person's ability to choose between different ways of living. Under this concept of capability or opportunities (alternative term), Sen thinks that people should have the opportunities to achieve (Cohen 1993: 10). As Sen (1993: 33) argues, the capability of a person does not only depend on his/her personal characteristics, but also on social arrangements. Thus, Sen's view is that people ought to be made equal in their capabilities, or at least in their basic capabilities so that people are able to utilize opportunities for improving their lives (Korsgaard 1993: 54).

[21] The term 'satisfaction' has been introduced rather than 'happiness' because it can be applied to a variety of meanings. The concept of satisfaction is attractive of its adaptability to a study design, which seeks a series of measures from different spheres of life rather than a single global measure (Campbell et al. 1976: 8-9).

which a person lives and the person's perception, satisfaction or subjective evaluation of his or her life (Mallman et al 1978 cited in Oberg and Gallopin 1992:5). It is argued that this concept is more applicable to the context of urban life (Frick 1986:3). Mukherjee (1989:26) states that QOL research is directed into two streams: the objective and the subjective variations of the manifestations of life. Furthermore, Cummins (1997:7) concludes that QOL research is not only multi-dimensional, but multi-axial as well, and therefore, it should encapsulate separate measurements of its objective and subjective components.

There is no absolute or universal consensus on how to define and measure the QOL, which is seen as a holistic measure in the literature (Oberg and Gallopin 1992:4, 7). Theoretically, the concept of QOL is connected with physiological well-being including the perception of adequate nutritious food, clothing, shelter, education, health and adaptation to a new environment. Chambers (1997 cited in Scoones 1998:6) argues that a well-being approach to poverty and livelihood analysis should allow people themselves to define the indicators that are important. The fact that when poverty is replaced by the term 'quality of life', it means more than a lack of what is necessary for material well-being. From a development point of view, that additional element is the lack of opportunities, which should be equally provided to people to achieve something for their lives. In other words, it considers the denial of some basic capabilities[22] to function, and here the functionings[23] or achievements are different aspects of living conditions (such as taking part in the community and freedom) from the physical ones. In the World Development Report 2000/2001, the World Bank recognizes the importance of measuring poverty in its multiple dimensions and emphasizes the inequality of opportunities for disadvantaged poor, which keep them from

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[22] In dealing with the extreme poverty situations in developing countries, Sen used the term 'basic capabilities' to separate out the ability satisfy certain crucially important functionings up to certain minimally adequate levels (Sen 1993: 41). In other words, basic capabilities (e.g. the ability to be well nourished and well sheltered, the capability of escaping avoidable morbidity and premature mortality, the ability to read and write and the ability to benefit from sustained schooling) refer to capabilities whose absence disables the person from satisfying basic needs (Cohen 1993: 26 and Sen 1993: 31).

[23] According to Sen (1985: 36; 1993: 31), a functioning is an achievement representing the various achievements of a person that he or she manages to do or be in leading a life. In other words, the quality of life of a human life can be seen as a combination of various doings and beings, which can be generically called functionings. Some functions might be very elementary such as being adequately nourished, being in good health etc, and some might be relatively complex such as achieving self-respect and being socially integrated. Thus, quality of life has been related to functionings. The difference between the terms capability and functionings is that the former is defined in the space of the latter. If a functioning achievement is a point in that space, capability is a set of such points (Sen 1993: 38).

leading the kind of life that everyone values (World Bank 2000). This new approach of the World Bank seems to underpin the concept of the present study, which conceptualizes not only the material well being of migrants but availability of opportunities at the community level through development programs.

In regard to the measurement of the QOL, therefore, the question arises whether aspects (domains) of life are selected according to the 'basic needs perspective'[24] or the 'capability perspective'[25]. To me, there are no great differences between the basic needs and capability approaches in choosing the domains of life and their indicators. In a poverty study, a needs approach focuses on a minimally acceptable living standard (material well-being) based on 'basic' human needs. Similarly, poverty can be analyzed under the capability approach using 'basic capabilities' whose absence disables people from satisfying basic needs. Sen also suggests that identifying a minimal combination of basic capabilities can be a good way of setting up the problem of diagnozing and measuring poverty (Sen 1993:41). In fact, by using the term 'basic', these two approaches tend to coincide when analyzing the life of the poor. As Hayes (2000:10) argues, in practice, these two approaches seem to blend into each other. What really differentiates the capability concept from the basic needs concept is the functionings that a person can or cannot achieve, given the opportunities he/she has, and these opportunities are determined by the social setting. Hence, I incorporate both 'basic needs' and 'basic capability' approaches in order to highlight the less easily defined, but much more critical aspects of *basti* life, and I have selected five such types of domains (Table 2.1).

It is evident that these types of aspects of life cannot be measured with only resource indicators or only way of life indicators. On the one hand, we need to assess both how the poor lead their ways of life through meeting essential human needs, and on the other hand,

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[24] According to basic needs perspective, poverty is deprivation of material requirements for minimally acceptable fulfillment of human needs, including food. This concept of deprivation goes well beyond the lack of private income: it includes the need for basic health and education and essential services that have to be provided by the community to prevent people from falling into poverty. It also recognizes the need for employment and participation (UNDP 1997: 16).

[25] According to Capability perspective, poverty represents the absence of some basic capabilities to function- a person lacking the opportunity to achieve some minimally acceptable levels of these functionings. These functionings may vary from physical ones as being well nourished, being adequately clothed and sheltered and avoiding preventable morbidity, to more complex social achievements such as partaking in the life of the community (UNDP 1997: 16).

what sorts of opportunities or resources they have to lead those ways of life. This implies a wider definition of resources (a combination of resources). For instance, income is a resource, which is directly related to a person's ability to achieve something; as Sen (1999:90) argues, income is an important means to capabilities. Similarly, education and good health are two important resources, which develop a person's capability to function. In addition, access to credit or participation in development programs is considered as a resource because these things give people opportunities (in terms of developing capabilities) to direct their own lives. Therefore, in this study, the QOL of the urban poor is assessed by a number of resource and way of life indicators from five domains in relation to both basic needs and capability concerns. These are the indicators (Table 2.1) for objective conditions of poor migrants in *basti* of Dhaka. With regard to the subjective components, the variation in migrants' lives through movements is assessed by their self-assessment about some specific aspects of their lives to examine the benefits of the migration decision.

Table-2.1: QOL domains and indicators

Domains	Indicators
Economic	Household equivalent income, Labour force participation status, Principal occupations (for employed persons), Household savings status, Household indebtness status, Household durables (possessions)
Education and knowledge	Household highest educational attainment, Children's school attendance (proportion of children (5-<14) in households currently attending school), Household heads' health knowledge
Health and nutrition	Household sickness status, Mode of treatment, Contraceptive prevalence status, Children's' immunization status, Household food consumption (types of diet)
Physical	Structural quality of dwelling, Overcrowding (mean number of household members per room), Access to utility services: water, electricity, sanitation, and garbage disposal
Social	Leisure and recreation, Eviction threat, Security in terms of crime and violence, Participation in social organizations

2.3 *Conceptualization development approaches*

The previous two sections have developed two coherent parts of a comprehensive framework to understand the causes and consequences of poverty-induced migration. This section demonstrates the concept of two development approaches in relation to the last two research questions. The first subsection will examine the development approach based on the return aspect of migration, while the following subsection focuses on the organizational interventions to improve the QOL of life of poor migrants in *basti*.

2.3.1 Return to origin as a means of development

One important aspect of migration is the counter stream of migration suggested by Ravenstein and Lee. Lee's observation indicates that migrants can return to their place of origin (Lee 1966:48, 55). Similarly, Zachariah (1966:381) mentioned that return (reverse) migration was one of the unexpected results of his study in Bombay. Some other researchers have also conceptualized this return to the place of origin. For instance, Caldwell (1969:198) pointed out that the anticipation of return to the home village is an integral part of most rural-urban migration in Africa and of most subsequent urban residence in Ghana. He found that over nine-tenths of the migrants living in the town ultimately intended to return to their home village. In addition, Hugo has revealed that most migrants in Jakarta hold their life cycle ceremonies in their origin, own property there and intend to retire to and die there (Hugo 1978:264). The literature review in Section 2.1 has shown that migrants live in dual systems. Despite approaching the urban life, they maintain a strong tie with their origin. This generally occurs because of the migrants' beliefs that they would return someday and thereby maintain a strong tie with their native villages (Connell et al. 1976:121).

The migrants' intentions to return to their origin hold an additional importance in the case of this research because most *basti* dwellers reside in unauthorized settlements. They are always at risk of eviction and this makes them prone to being rootless or to returning to their origin. In a recent study on slums in Bombay, Desai (1995:161) has examined the intentions of slum dwellers to return to their village of origin, and suggested that many migrants consider their real home to be in their native places, to which they anticipate returning. On the basis of this return aspect of migration, this research has set up the fifth

research question to examine the viability of development programs that incorporate return to the place of origin.

The question arises as to how the likelihood of such development programs can be examined or simply how the intended return migrants can be differentiated. In this regard, some researchers have examined the return to the origin in terms of migrants' success or failure in the destination. (Hugo 1978:261). In other words, the probability of return to the place of origin has been assessed by the level of achievement in the destination. Zachariah suggested that the return migrants from Bombay were not only characterized by failure or economic inactiveness, but were also weighted by other factors such as retirement and transfer of services (Zachariah 1966:381). In a similar way, Hugo (1978:261-261) concluded that although return to origin from Jakarta was influenced by the success or failure of migrants in the destination, there were some economic and social factors, such as receipt of inheritance or having relatives in the village, which cannot be viewed in urban success or failure terms. Compared to these findings, Desai (1995:162) observed that intention to return is related to both ownership of assets at the village of origin and to ownership of housing in the slum (Bombay), in the former case positively and in the latter negatively.

In considering the above analysis and the overall conditions of poor migrants in *basti*, this research argues that intention to return to the place of origin may be related to both interests in the origin and destination. Moreover, the interest of going back home or staying in the destination may not be only associated with individual characteristics, but also with other types of characteristics such as household and community in the destination. Therefore, this research will examine migrants' intention to return to the place of origin by taking into account a wider range of characteristics in order to investigate the likelihood of any development based on the return aspect of migration.

2.3.2 Social organizations as a means of development

Before discussing the people centred development approach of NGOs, this subsection provides background information on the evolution of participation in development, variations in participatory actions, the meaning of popular participation in relation to self-

reliance, and the nature of popular participation through grassroots organizations in Bangladesh.

Evolution of participation in development

In theory, and in practice, 'development' has usually been measured by economic growth in terms of macro-economic indicators such as Gross National Product (GNP) and Per Capita Income (PCI). The conventional wisdom was that a rapid increase in GNP would increase average PCI (Morris and McAlpin 1982:1). In the context of this economic development, industrialization was generally deemed as the primary vehicle and to some extent, modern agricultural policy was considered as an alternative approach or supportive action of the industrialization process (United Nations 1978:2-3). Broadly speaking, this form of economic development has not been successful in establishing a more equitable and just society in most developing countries in terms of providing social services to the poor. As a result, the focus of development planning in most developing countries shifted from purely growth objectives to more welfare-oriented goals and objectives. In order to achieve these goals, the community development approach emerged with the aim of improving the level of the whole community. At the initial stage, the common community development strategy was a rural based development program initiated by the government, and this was enthusiastically adopted in many developing countries given its focus upon revitalising backward rural areas (Moser 1989:90; Park et al. 1986:29).

However, this approach has targeted the community as a 'whole' without considering its heterogeneity mainly in terms of economic and social status. More specifically, it is basically a large program, 'top-down' system where every step of the program has been set up from above placing little emphasis on the local disadvantaged people's priorities or willingness. Consequently, their participation has been very limited. The desired 'trickle-down' effect did not eventuate from these programs, and the disadvantaged sections of the community gained little (Chowdhury 1990:6). Thus, the crucial role of the local community's participation was identified as the main quantifiable 'missing ingredient' of the community development approach (Oakley and Marsden 1984:7). The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) has described participation as a right and duty of people in the execution (i.e. planning, implementation and management) of projects, which profoundly affect their lives (UNCHS 1984a:1 cited in Moser 1989:82). In this way,

participation in organizations has been considered as a resource because people are given opportunities to improve their own lives. A participant at a regional seminar on community participation in Kuala Lumpur in July 1988 commented on the use of the term participation in the following way:

> In the sixties, anyone who advocated community participation was treated with suspicion and seen as a dangerous radical. Today, anyone who does not advocate participatory approaches is treated with suspicion (Bamberger and Shams 1989:200).

Variations in participatory actions

Although there has been unanimity about the importance of participation in development programs, there is less unanimity on the nature and content of the participation process. There is no standard or consensus definition of participation due to the fact that its meaning varies considerably from one country to another and even within the same country. This is not surprising since differences in given political, economic and socio-cultural settings and styles influence both the degree and the nature of participation in the development process. As a result, over the last three decades a number of ideas have been developed to describe the participatory process, including: 'community participation', 'popular participation', 'self-help approach', 'pseudo-cooperative' or 'grass-roots' initiatives. At the same time, there has been enormous debate about the effectiveness of participation with arguments for 'real', 'meaningful', or 'authentic' participation.

Popular participation

Conceptualizing a wider participatory development approach has been a major concern for social scientists and world development organizations. The main objective of this new approach is to achieve more 'authentic' development in terms of an equitable and just society. In the mid-70s, a new dimension was introduced with the participatory development process termed 'popular participation' or 'people's participation'. Basically, the concept of popular participation is identical with the concept of democracy where participatory democracy rules out dominance of any elite group over the broad masses of people. Here the disadvantaged and marginalized groups refer to the broad mass of population who normally have a very limited access to participatory development projects.

In considering people's basic needs, the 1976 World Employment Conference in Geneva stated that a basic-needs-oriented policy must be incorporated with the participation of people in making the decisions, which affect them through organizations of their own choice. The disadvantaged people's organizations enable them to participate effectively in order to safeguard their interests (ILO 1978:181-182). In 1978, an expert group at a meeting in the United Nations (UN) headquarters recommended the popular participation approach to maximize the ability of the large mass of the population to contribute to development actions. As a minimum requirement for this strategy, the following components have been also identified: (i) an organizational base, (ii) autonomy of citizen initiation in local decision-making, (iii) an efficient information network and (iv) material and technical support (United Nations 1978:6). Although people's participation has been emphasized in this definition from planning to sharing benefits, this approach is still conceptualized as a strategy for promoting community level development, assuming that the whole community would be pulling in the same direction. Hence, the stratification of the economic and socio-cultural status of poor people and their own organizations has not been given preference under this definition. However, at the end of the 1970s in Geneva, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) defined the concrete objective of popular participation, describing this participatory approach as:

> The organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control (Pearse and Steifel 1979:8).

This definition was developed on the basis that the generation of poverty is a function of the concentration of power and the monopolization of resources, which puts the cheap and obedient labour of the poor at the disposal of monopolisers. Therefore, efforts should be taken to increase poor people's power and their control over resources through strengthening their grassroots organizations. Under this approach, some fundamental social forces of a meaningful participatory program have been identified: (1) grass-roots organizations- providing the base of organizing powerless people, (2) homogeneity of participants- targeting the hitherto disadvantaged groups excluded in the previous programs, and (3) empowerment- giving neglected poor people control over resources and organizations. The aim of isolating the participants as hitherto poor is to increase their

awareness of a whole series of common interests which give them strength and the opportunity to organize.

The issue of self-reliance

In the above popular participation context, further thinking has taken place in conceptualizing more concrete development strategies in which the concepts of 'dependency' and 'exploitation' have been taken into consideration in development strategies. The term 'self-reliance' has brought a new dimension to the development process relevant to people's participation. As Lisk (1985:16) states the concept of popular participation should be defined in relation to the notion of self-reliance. The literature shows that these conceptualizations of a new development approach are linked to the works of Paulo Freire and Andre Gunder Frank, as they have emphasized self-reliant development (Chowdhury 1990:205; Desai 1995:51; Huizer 1985:197; Oakley and Marsden 1984:7). Chowdhury (1990:205) describes Freire and Frank's works as appealing to the latent spirit of self-reliance by giving the oppressed or marginalized poor a call to take united action to redress social injustice.

This philosophy independence or self-reliance through social structural change is also often termed 'another development' because it rejects the world economic development strategy through industrialization. This development concept is based on the inclusion of human needs, self-reliance and transformation of social structure. (Haque et al. 1977:3). It is considered as a global concept, which applies not only to the Third World but also to the industrialised countries. For instance, the Institute for Local Self-reliance pursues the ideas of 'another development' in the urban conglomerates of New York and Washington (Huxley 1980:127). In this concept, self-reliance has been stressed as an ideal or integral part of development strategies.

Relationship between popular participation and self-reliance

The relationship between popular participation and self-reliance should be seen as mutually reinforcing (United Nations 1978:4). In Freire (1996) and Frank (1974)'s ideas self-reliance has been termed 'liberation' and 'autonomy' respectively by these authors mainly from a political point of view. It is a strategy to raise consciousness and increase confidence of local poor people in their own ability to participate effectively in matters and activities

relating to their own development. Self-reliance does not necessarily mean self-sufficient, and should not be confused with autarky. In present society, no community or group can survive as a self-sufficient group without interaction with others. Self-reliance is a process of promoting participation in the development actions through social structural changes and social creativity.

Popular participation through grassroots NGO organizations

Based on the above discussion, the concept of popular participation in relation to self-reliance can be defined by four fundamental components: (i) a grassroots organization of disadvantaged poor, (ii) homogeneity of participants, (iii) empowerment or control over organizations and resources, and (iv) both economic and non-economic support. However, the important question posed here is whether NGO programs in Bangladesh are characterized by these four components. Generally speaking, they are as NGOs take the initiatives to organize the poor, build their own grassroots organizations, and provide both technical and economic supports to implement projects. In principal, NGO development programs in Bangladesh have been analyzed as a participatory approach in many studies (Evans et al. 1999; Hoque and Siddiquee 1998; Rahman and Razzaque 2000; Zaman 1984), often terming this approach as 'self-help approach' (Chowdhury 1990; Sanyal 1991; Zaman 1984).

NGO participatory programs can be categorized into two groups on the basis of the scale of activities[26]: (1) small scale such as target groups in micro-credit programs and (2) large scale such as community based projects. A small-scale activity is a conscious process of organization development and empowerment of the disadvantaged people at the grassroots. Under the small-scale model, the favourable environmental impact of government or donor agency action is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for development (Bamberger and Shams 1989:34). In contrast, large-scale participatory programs are mainly project-based actions. This approach envisages substantial interventions by government, donors and NGOs to the community. In this approach, a decentralized or local administrative support is still expected for implementation of the project activities (Bamberger and Shams 1989:34). However, at both scales, NGO interventions are essentially directed towards strengthening

[26] Details about the types of programs are presented in Section 3.6.2.

the position of the disadvantaged *basti* dwellers through their own organizations and participation.

A practical way of understanding participation

So far this section has defined people's participation in development programs. Unfortunately, there has been a lack of systematic investigation in the literature to understand actual involvement of people in development actions. The aim of this research is not to evaluate any particular program, but to examine the impact of participation in social grassroots organizations on the QOL of *basti* dwellers. This purpose can be better understood by using the concept of development participation of Uphoff and his research team[27] at Cornell University (Uphoff et al. 1979). Uphoff and his team find three dimensions of participation for gaining a better understanding of the role and possibilities of popular participation in development: (i) what kind of participation is under consideration? (ii) how is participation occurring? and (iii) who is participating in it? (Uphoff et al. 1979:4-5).

What kind of participation?

According to Uphoff et al. (1979:307), there are four kinds of participation that can take place in a participatory program, which are as follows: (i) participation in decision-making, (ii) participation in implementation, (iii) participation in benefits, and (iv) participation in evaluation. As participatory programs depend upon people's direct or active involvement, if they are to succeed, this direct involvement should apply from the beginning of the program and continue in every phase of the program. While participation in decision-making opens up the opportunity for the hitherto poor to participate in a development process with utmost interest, participation in implementation is considered the most important function of the process as it directly influences the outcome of the program. From the economic point of view, participation in sharing the benefits must be the sole criterion of the program as without any guarantee of equity people lose their interest in any discriminatory program. Participation in evaluation becomes an integral component of any participatory program because the strategies that are taken might be modified at any stage of the program if it is expected to succeed.

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[27] For details please see Uphoff et al., 1979

All four components are important to understand the nature of participation in development programs. However, according to the interest of the present research, the benefits of participation are the key issue, and thus, the benefits can be determined by comparing the QOL between participating and non-participating households. Uphoff et al. (1979:315) also mention that as efforts are increased to improve the QOL for poorer sections of the population, the benefits of participation must be assessed.

How does participation occur?

This refers to the functioning of participation or the means by which participation is accomplished at the different stages of the program. Uphoff et al. (1979:7) mention seven different characteristics including initiative, organizations and empowerment to assess how participation occurs. Although it is not the purpose of this study to assess how participation occurs, this research understands that it is important to consider closely the methods of implementation of programs for a better understanding of the effect of participation. According to Uphoff et al. (1979:324), the 'how' dimension incorporates qualitative evaluation into the analysis of participation. Therefore, the methods of implementation are presented in Section 3.6.2 where the types of NGO programs are discussed.

Who participates?

In the current context of Bangladesh, the most fundamental question is who is participating. As mentioned in Section 1.2, there is a question about whether the target group approach in rural areas is reaching the disadvantaged people. To put this ideological question in another way, for whose benefit are participatory programs being encouraged? In this regard, Uphoff et al. (1979:6) suggest a more disaggregated approach to analyzing who participates. Therefore, attempts are made to disaggregate participants according to their personal and household characteristics to analyze whether or not any selectivity of participation exists in development programs for *basti* dwellers.

Summary

This subsection has conceptualized poor migrants' participation in local grassroots social organizations, which are mainly organized by NGOs both in small and large scales, as popular participation in relation to self-reliance. According to the interest of this research, the analysis is limited to two specific issues: who is participating in social organizations

and with what effect. In addition, the ways (or the methods of operation) in which participation occurs are examined using qualitative data. Uphoff et al. (1979:9) also specifically suggest these three aspects of participation for analysis.

2.4 *Conclusion*

In summary, this research has demonstrated that the framework conceptualized in Section 2.1 will be helpful in analyzing the dynamics of poverty-induced migration towards Dhaka. Similarly, the consequences of that migration in terms of socio-economic achievements in *basti* can be analyzed under the QOL framework as it has been conceptualised in Section 2.2. These two separate but correlated frameworks together build a comprehensive migration framework for analyzing both causes and consequences of poverty-induced migration in Bangladesh. However, two more development concepts have also been included in this comprehensive migration framework to ameliorate the *basti* conditions in Dhaka. Of these two development concepts, the first one examines the characteristics of migrants (both individual and larger units of related people) to reveal the factors behind the intentions to return to origin or stay in the destination. The second approach investigates the characteristics of participants and non-participants (both individual and larger units of related people) in social organizations to examine the selectivity of participation and compares the QOL between these two groups of dwellers to assess the benefits of participation. Therefore, four concepts (the poverty-induced migration process, achievements of migration in terms of QOL in the destination, the return aspect of migration and popular participation in social organizations) are combined in a comprehensive framework whereby research questions concerning each of the three interconnected events (causes of migration, the achieved life in *basti* and development approaches for improving *basti* conditions) are generated and addressed, as no single theory provides clarification of the questions addressed in this research.

Chapter 3: Portrayal of *Basti* in Dhaka

The proliferation of different types of squatter settlements in Dhaka indicates the living reality of the consequences of rapid rural-urban migration, as the authorities are unable to meet the demands for cheap housing. The living conditions of these squatter settlements primarily depend on the response of the government rather than NGO interventions, as most of these settlements are unauthorized. Because of the government's negative response to improve the *basti* livelihoods, a number of NGOs are undertaking different programs for *basti* dwellers. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive picture of different types of low income settlements for poor migrants in Dhaka, types of *basti* settlements, the volume and pattern of *basti* dwellers' mobility, how poor migrants organize their lives in *basti,* and how they relate to their various environments in terms of the socio-economic characteristics of *basti*, and the ways in which the strategies of both the government and NGOs act on squatter problems.

This chapter has been developed from my personal observations and interviews with relevant government and NGO fieldworkers and officials, and on secondary information sources. Observation means that during my fieldwork (September 2001 – January 2002), I visited many *basti* with the help of mainly different NGO fieldworkers, and took notes about the evolution of the *basti*, the way of *basti* life, dwellers' different activities, and interventions by both the government and NGOs. I also talked to *basti* dwellers informally whenever possible.

3.1 *Low-income settlements in Dhaka*

Squatter settlements have been the main hope for poor migrants in taking shelter not only in Dhaka, but also in some other mega-cities around the developing countries. These settlements are considered to be the home of the urban poor due to the general relationship between these types of settlements and poverty. Nonetheless, there is no straightforward definition of urban squatting and these settlements are defined in different terms such as slums, squatters and shanties. These terms are generally used interchangeably despite the fact that they have some social, cultural and economic characteristics that require differentiation (Obudho and Mhlanga 1988:7-9). Often a basic distinction is made between

slums and squatter settlements in considering the legal status of land: those settlements built legally on land are called slums, while squatter settlements are built with an ambiguous legal status (UNCHS 1982 cited inHuq-Hussain 1996b:99; Islam 1996b:379). Apart from this differentiation, the terms for squatter settlements vary within regions or even within a country. For instance, urban squatter settlements are commonly known as slums around the world, but they are called *basti* in Bangladesh, Pakistan and one part of India (Calcutta in West Bengal). In other parts of India, squatter settlements are identified by different names such as *Khatra*s in Delhi, *Zopadpattis* in Bombay and *Cheris* in Madras (Bhattacharya 1996:1). Similarly, squatter settlements have been known as *Jacoles* in Mexico, *Geooknodus* in Turkey, and f*avelas* in Brazil (CUS 1976:3; Pamuk and Cavallieri 1998:449). Other names are: *barrios, barriados, villes miserables, gecekondu, ranchos* and *bidonvilles* (Obudho and Mhlanga 1988:7; Ross 1973:4).

In Bangladesh, the term *basti* is generally used as a synonym for slums or squatter settlements. There is a wide variation in the squatter settlements of Dhaka but that differentiation has not been clearly mentioned in previous studies in Bangladesh. There are mainly three organizations in Bangladesh that have surveyed squatter settlements on a large scale, namely the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), the Centre for Urban Studies (CUS) and the International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh (ICDDR, B). Significant differences exist between the definitions adopted by these three organizations, except for general agreement regarding some physical and demographic characteristics such as poor housing, lack of basic amenities and overcrowdness. The definition of a *basti* varies from one survey to another survey conducted by BBS (1989:5; 1999b:2). In the last census of slum areas and the floating population in 1997, BBS has defined a slum in the following way:

> A slum is a cluster of compact settlements of 5 or more households which generally grow very unsystematically and haphazardly in an unhealthy condition and atmosphere on government and private vacant land. Slums also exist in the owner based household premises (BBS 1999:2).

In this latest census in 1997, BBS has separated two groups of people from squatters: (i) those living in low-cost housing in owner-based household premises not geographically in the area of squatter settlements, and (ii) the floating population - the mobile and vagrant

category of rootless urban population who were found in the different types of public places such as the railway station and bus terminals (BBS 1999:3). The definitions adopted by the CUS in 1988 and ICDDR, B in 1991 are very similar, but differ from the BBS's definition in the way that CUS and ICDDR, B divided the squatter settlements into two groups: slums and squatters according to legal status. There is a basic difference between the definitions of these two organizations because ICDDR, B has counted a settlement with at least 10 households, while CUS did not use a minimum number for defining a settlement. Also CUS included persons or families found on pavements, in bus terminals and other public places (CUS 1988:2; ICDDRB 1993:2-3).

As a result, the number of squatter settlements varies from study to study. For instance, CUS found a total of 3007 squatter settlements (slums-2328 and squatters-679) in Dhaka Metropolitan area in 1996. In contrast, BBS's census shows that the number was 1579 in 1997, and the ICDDR, B survey enumerated a total of 2156 slums (including squatters) in 1991. Consequently, the total population of squatter settlements varies substantially between these surveys: from 1.1 million in the CUS survey to 0.8 million in the BBS survey (BBS 1999:XIII; CUS 1996:4; ICDDRB 1993:8). Eviction from squatter settlements could be a reason for this variation in the number of squatter settlements and their population, but the scale of eviction was taken into account during the period of those surveys (a picture of eviction is presented in Section 3.5).

The number of households seems to be a basic criterion to identify a squatter settlement because a reasonable number of households signify some sorts of integration of the settlement. Although squatters are not generally well-integrated, a sense of community may develop within a settlement in a number of ways. For instance, Ross found that the stress of daily living and threats of interventions from the outside brought settlers closed together (Ross 1973:39-40). Therefore, a sense of community may develop in a settlement comprising a considerable number of household, where settlers come together for their common interests. In the current context of Dhaka, the sense of integration or community can be used to categorize squatter settlements more realistically. Although BBS has provided a broad picture of settlements for poor migrants in terms of low cost housing, slums and floating population, it has not divided squatter settlements into categories, putting them all under the category, slums. During the fieldwork I observed some important

variations between squatter settlements which need to be documented. For instance, there are a large number of small-scale squatter settlements along the roads, rail lines or embankments in Dhaka. These settlements should not be characterized either as slums or floating population because the patterns of living and the integration of community differ. Although CUS and ICDDR, B have categorized the squatter settlements into two groups (slums and squatter), this categorization is simply based on the legal status of land. From my observations, settlements for poor migrants can be categorized into four groups, as follows:

Low cost housing

For operational convenience, municipalities are divided into a number of wards, which can be considered as local administrative units represented by the elected public leaders known as ward commissioners. There are a total of 90 wards in Dhaka City Corporation (DCC[28]). However, every ward is again divided into several *mahalla*, which are considered as the lowest administrative statistical unit for identifying different communities within a ward. According to this stratification of administrative units based on geographical locations, every squatter settlement in DCC should belong to a *mahalla*. Unfortunately, the term *mahalla* is used for the settlements of upper or middle class people, making a distinction between *mahalla* and squatter settlements. Living in a community of a *mahalla* requires a higher cost than living in a squatter settlement. Nonetheless, a lot of poor migrants live in *mahalla*, renting low cost housing in the upper income neighbourhoods with minimum basic facilities. Some landowners in *mahalla* build temporary houses and rent to poor people who deliberately avoid living in a squatter settlement. Therefore, the characteristics that differentiate these low cost housing from other squatter settlements are that they are in owner based household premises and subsequently, access to public utilities is likely to be legal. The BBS (1999b:xiii) survey showed that there were 10,685 premise based low cost households[29] in the urban areas of Bangladesh. However, the most important point to be noted is that low cost housing is not geographically isolated from the main stream of urban communities, and poor people live in these housing with legal status.

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[28] DCC is an autonomous body under the Ministry of Local Government.
[29] This number of low cost housing is based on the BBS concept, which is not defined in the BBS's report. However, it seems that this figure is a lower estimate.

Basti

Unlike low cost housing in *mahalla*, *basti* are a type of squatter settlement built unsystematically and in most cases illegally on government or private vacant lands, and they are socially and geographically isolated from the communities of *mahalla*. These areas are characterized by poverty, overcrowding and unsanitary conditions. Access to basic urban amenities is very limited in this type of settlement, and in most cases, this access is provided in illegal ways. People build their own dwelling units or rent units from other dwellers in *basti*. The significant characteristic which differentiates *basti* from other squatter settlements is that every *basti* comprises a reasonable number of households and is identified by a name and a geographical boundary. Therefore, a low level sense of community or integration can be seen within a *basti* for its own common interest. This sense of community can be measured by the extent to which settlers see their settlement as inactive and come to agree that common problems need to be resolved collectively and peacefully (Ross 1973:75). In fact, these are slums as generally documented in the literature, and in Bangladesh, slums are known as *basti* to everyone. However, there has been no agreed definition of slums or *basti*. Therefore, from the earlier discussion and my experience I define a *basti* in the following way:

> A *basti* is a cluster of poor housing unit structures on government and private unused or disputed land where a fragile community sense develops with time but remains characterized by poverty, overcrowding, uncertainty of existence, high insecurity and absence of almost all urban legal basic amenities.

Shanties

Shanties are generally counted as *basti* in surveys in Bangladesh despite the fact that shanties significantly differ from *basti* in many ways. For instance, this type of squatter settlements is more scattered than *basti* being found along roads, railway lines and embankments rather than in geographically bounded areas with identification names. Shanties are characterized by very temporarily and poor housing structures without any sort of basic facilities. As a result, no sense of community integration develops in this type of squatter settlement.

Public open spaces

These are places for those who do not have any particular shelter like the above three types of settlements. People who are using public places such as bus stands, railway stations, different public building premises, shopping malls, parks or pavements as living places are termed as floating population by BBS (noted above) due to the fact that they are rootless and the poorest of the poor. These destitute people make some minimum arrangements at night when they sleep, and in most cases they sleep under the open sky. This is the most mobile group of vulnerable urban poor in Dhaka.

3.2 *Types of basti*

There are different types of *basti* in Dhaka. Some *basti* are small (around 25 households) and some have more than 500 households. *Basti* are named in different ways. In most cases, they are called according to their *matbar*' (leader) name such as Amir Ali *basti*, Shahider tak etc. Often they are named according to the district of origin of dwellers such as Comillar *basti* or named according to a political party or leader such as BNP *basti* and Bangabandhu Adarsha *basti*. In addition, *basti* are identified by the name of an area or a popular organization such as Taltala bazaar *basti,* Kafrool *basti,* and T & T (Telephone and Telegraph) *basti*. In some cases, a well-known name indicates a cluster of different *basti*, for instance, No. 14 Outfall *basti* in Demra, which consists of about 15 different *basti*, and according to the BBS (1999b:87), a total of 2124 households are residing in the area of No. 14 Outfall. Similarly, BNP *basti* in Mohammadpur consists of about 50 *basti* with 8720 households (GOB and ADB 1996a:189).

Apart from the above classification, variations between *basti* can be divided in two ways: (i) according to the land ownership, and (ii) on racial grounds. Firstly, *basti* are built on two types of lands: government and private. In most cases, *basti* occupy government land, semi-government and autonomous organizations' land. For instance, the largest three concentrations of squatter settlements namely BNP *basti*, Karail *basti* and No. 14 Outfall *basti* are built on the land of PWD (Public Works Department), T & T and DCC respectively. These lands remained unused and subsequently were gradually occupied by poor migrants. On the other hand, private land is also used for *basti* settlements as the

owners of those lands receive monthly rent from the dwellers. There are many large *basti* on private land in Lalbag area such as Kamalbag *basti*, Rahamatganj *math basti* and Godora *ghat basti*. Besides renting purposes, some private owners allow some families to reside on their lands temporarily without any rent in order to protect their land from other influential local people who might occupy it if it remained unused. According to BBS (1999b:13), about 63 per cent of *basti* are located in the first category of the land, while 35 per cent belong to the second category.

Secondly, *basti* can be divided into two major racial groups: (i) Bengali and (ii) Non-Bengali. *Basti* are predominated by Bengali population, of whom almost 100 per cent are Muslims. Although Hindus are about 12 per cent of the total population (BBS 1984:xxiii), they do not usually migrate to Dhaka but prefer to migrate to India if compelled to leave the place of origin (Ahsanullah et al. 1999:26). In my survey, I have found only three Hindu households out of 1052 households.

However, there is a significant non-Bengali population living in various *basti* across DCC. Basically, there are two groups of non-Bengalis: Indians and Pakistanis. The majority of the Indian population was brought mainly from Madras during the British period, and some were brought during the Pakistan regime for street sweeping purposes. The Indian community has two groups: (i) the Telegu community – who speak in Telegu and (ii) the Kanpuri community – who speak in Hindi. The Telegu community can be found in Demra (No. 14 Outfall), Wari, Gopibagh and Mohammadpur. The Kanpuri people are living mainly in Lalbag. The areas of Indian communities are mostly known as sweeper colonies. They still maintain contact with their communities in India, particularly for marriage purposes. The second population consists of Pakistanis. After Independence in 1971, a large number of Pakistanis could not go back to their country, and many of them are living in some large *basti* in Mohammadpur and Mirpur. Among these *basti*, Geneva camp in Mohammadpur is well known. According to BBS, about 0.2 million Pakistanis are living in *basti* of some major cities including Dhaka (BBS 1999:15), and certainly most are in Dhaka's *basti*.

3.3 *Mobility of basti dwellers*

Generally it is believed that *basti* dwellers are very mobile, although there are no accurate data regarding in- and out-movements from *basti.* The ICDDR,B study on the slum settlements[30] in Dhaka showed only an indicative trend of movements rather than actual movement patterns as the information was collected from the key informants in each settlement. The ICDDR,B study calculated an 8.9 per cent annual out-movement compared to a 9.6 per cent in-movement, and both types of movements largely occurred in the settlements built on private land (ICDDRB 1993:28-33). However, this study did not mention all probable directions of out-movements, which generally occurs in three ways: *basti* – place of origin, *basti* – *basti*, and *basti* – other low cost housing areas. The ICDDR,B study only inquired about the second direction, and found that movement of occupants from one *basti* to another within the city was very common (ICDDRB 1993:32).

In the case of this thesis (data presented in Table 4.4), a total of six households from the sample (500 households) returned to the place of origin, four households moved to another place within the city, and five households disappeared without leaving any indication of their next destinations during a four-month period (September – December 2001). In the case of the second direction of movements, it had not been possible to record the category of destination, but information collected from neighbours suggests that most moved to another *basti*. On the other hand, among the households that disappeared, the destinations might be the place of origin or another *basti* in Dhaka. However, these three types of out-movements indicate a total of 9 per cent out-migration rate from these three *basti* on an annual basis.

Information on the mobility of *basti* dwellers from ICDDR,B and this research indicates that about 9 per cent of out-movements take place in the *basti,* mainly in two directions: *basti* – place of origin, and *basti* – *basti.* In this regard, the quantitative data of the present study reveal that *basti-basti* movement is very common as only 28 per cent of migrants have been living in the same *basti* since the migration, the remaining 72 per cent have moved from an earlier settlement. In considering the possibility of out-movements from *basti* to a non-*basti* low cost housing area, participant observation revealed some evidence

[30] According to the classification of squatter settlements in Section 3.1, this slum settlement indicates both *basti* and shanties.

of these moves, but suggested that this direction of mobility is not near as common as the other two directions.

Finally, reasons for these types of out-movement are not well documented in the literature. It is hard to draw conclusions about the reasons as they might be influenced by different factors such as government decisions on *basti* eviction, migrants' success and failure in the destination, and other social factors including social prestige and security in the community. In this regard, the ICDDR,B study found that cheaper or rent free accommodation was the main reason for *basti – basti* movements and that private *basti* were experiencing a higher degree of out-movement than government *basti* as dwellers on government land are less likely to pay any rent (ICDDRB 1993:29-33). On the other hand, information about returning to their origin households collected from neighbours showed that illness of the main worker and dissatisfaction about *basti* life encouraged some households to return.

3.4 *General socio-economic characteristics of basti*

The aim of this section is to provide a general review of *basti* characteristics in order to understand how poor migrants organize their lives in basti and relate to their various environments. These characteristics are presented below in terms of physical structures, economic conditions, education and health facilities, security and violence, and community power structures.

Physical structures

Poor migrants cannot afford even a cheap urban unit in *mahalla*, and therefore, usually find their shelter in *basti*. In general, a couple of households live in different rooms of a house as people rent rooms rather than a house. Hence, all members of a household are likely to live in a room, having an area of around 7.5 ft x 6 ft. The structure of dwellings is also very poor. The very common structure is roof, wall and floor made of tin, bamboo and mud respectively. Even if a person owns a house with more than one room, the owner is likely to rent other rooms apart from their living one. The rent of a room is on average TK300 (US$5) per month. There are no kitchen and bathroom facilities in the dwelling, and thus people cook in a corner of the room or just outside the room. They use wood for cooking, as there is no gas supply in *basti*. Piped water provision to individual households is almost

non-existent in *basti*, but in many cases, standpipes are installed and electricity is supplied illegally by local influential leaders through corrupt connections with workers in those public departments. In these cases, service is charged according to the jug for water, and number of items for electricity. Initiatives for legal connection of water and electricity have been taken by some NGOs, but in a limited number of *basti*.

With regard to other services, households usually share a common latrine, known as slab latrines, and these latrines are generally located at the boundary of the *basti*. Open latrines can be found between houses, which not only creates an ugly picture, but also an unhygienic environment for the whole community. *Basti* dwellers are also deprived of other infrastructure services such as drainage, garbage disposal and roads. In this regard, little development has been carried out by DCC, and hence, dwellers have to get something done through their own efforts. For instance, drains are built by the dwellers themselves to get rid of stagnant clogged water.

Economic conditions

Basti dwellers are mainly involved in informal or menial jobs such as rickshaw pulling, street trading, day manual labour, and domestic service. In addition, nowadays a large number of *basti* dwellers, mainly women, are involved in garment industries, which can be characterized as part of the formal sector. Rickshaw pulling has been the most common occupation for men, whereas garment industries have been the major source of employment for women. People who are employed in non-formal sectors have no contract of employment, no formal channels for settling disputes and no insurance against sickness or injury, but with minimum wages. As a result, they live on low, precarious and insecure incomes. Although garment workers are involved in the formal sector, workers have to work long hours, but are paid a low wage (Zohir and Paul-Majumder 1996:2). Nonetheless, working in the garment industry is a better opportunity for women because apart from this job, their job opportunities are largely based on domestic service, and both the dignity and wage in this service is likely to be lower than in the garment industry. As most dwellers have a low income, they shop in the cheaper markets which are located in *basti* areas. Almost every large concentration of *basti* has its own market. Even some shops or vendors can be found at the entrance of every *basti*, where generally food goods such as rice,

vegetables, fruit, fish etc are sold. These goods are the leftovers or rejected goods of general markets and therefore, are very low in quality.

Education and health facilities

The literacy rate[31] of *basti* dwellers is only 14.4 per cent (BBS 1999:xiii), which is extremely low compared to 60 per cent for the overall urban population in Bangladesh (BBS 1998:ix). In fact, it is really hard to find a primary school in a *basti* area, accessible to *basti* children. Children's education totally depends on informal education programs run by different NGOs. These educational programs are characterized by inconsistency with the government curriculum, and lack of qualified teachers, permanent structure of schools and continuity. Because *basti* areas are not facilitated by formal educational providers, some parents are worried about their children's future, which will remain based on informal education unless parents take some special action. In considering their children's future, very few parents send their children to government or other private recognized schools. With regard to health care, people have to rely on their own efforts to access a doctor or medical centres/hospitals located outside the *basti*, as no facilities are available in *basti*. Often some NGO clinics can be seen inside *basti*, but services are not regular. Satellite clinics are found in some *basti* once a week, but these clinics are based on very basic services such as children's immunization. Therefore, a number of medicine shops can be found in *basti* markets, from which people buy medicine without any prescription from a doctor.

Security and violence

Nowadays *basti* are seen as enclaves of crime and violence. *Basti* are largely blamed for the growing business of drugs and terrorism as terrorists take shelter in *basti*. In fact, *basti* dwellers are not only poor, but powerless and innocent as well. When a few people (mostly outsiders) use *basti* as a safe place to run illegal businesses or anti-social activities, dwellers are functionally helpless to protest against those activities. Often, innocent dwellers are suspected by the law-enforcing agency of being involved in crime and are harassed when an incident occurs near their area. When innocent *basti* dwellers are arrested, they are only released on payment of a bribe (Ahsanullah et al. 1999:61). In

[31] Defined as the percentage of population of age 7 years and above who can write a letter in any language (BBS 1998: 106; 1999b: 5).

particular, BNP *basti* in Mohammadpur and City *pally* in Demra are very well known localities for drug business. In addition, some unemployed and delinquent young people, using the name of the ruling political party, ask dwellers for money as toll, which has been a common phenomenon in *basti*. Dwellers who have a moderate earning source or a young daughter in the household are more likely to be charged for that toll. Unless the toll is paid, their lives would be threatened.

Community power structure

Officially every elected ward commissioner is responsible for administering every *basti* within the boundary of that ward. However, in reality, informal power is used to administer *basti*. In other words, almost every *basti* has its own committee to oversee social welfare or other local problems, and generally people affiliated with a political party (mostly the ruling party) lead that committee. When the political party in power changes, this committee is also likely to be changed as well. In addition to that committee, another separate committee can be found in most *basti* called '*Bastibashir Odhikar Surakha Committee* (BOSC)'. This committee is organized by the Coalition for the Urban Poor (CUP[32]), and the primary aim of BOSC is to organize people to protest against the decision of eviction of the *basti*. Generally, there is no contradiction between these two *basti* committees as the latter one only acts when an eviction threat arises, which is a common interest for all dwellers.

3.5 *Government responses to basti*

The Government of Bangladesh (GOB) considers alleviation of poverty as synonymous with development (Planning Commission 1998:44). The last Five Year Plan (FYP) 1997-2002 states GOB's commitment to the alleviation of poverty through accelerated economic growth to bring about a noticeable improvement in the standard of living of people by raising their level of income and meeting their basic needs (Planning Commission 1998:44). Through these strategies of poverty alleviation, the rural poor have been targeted for inclusion in development programs. In contrast, the incidence of urban poverty is yet to be considered seriously in any FYP. According to the constitution of the Republic of

[32] CUP is a coalition of about 80 NGOs, who are working in Dhaka and other major cities. This coalition was formed in 1989 basically to coordinate between NGOs and protect habitat rights of the urban poor, especially *basti* dwellers.

Bangladesh, the state is responsible for meeting the basic necessities of life, including food, clothing, shelter, education and medical care (Centre for Policy Dialogue 2000:1), but squatters have been treated by the government mostly in a negative way, even ignoring their human rights. A brief review of government *basti* strategies such as eviction, resettlement or relocation, improvement programs and rehabilitation is given below:

Eviction

The government has been using eviction as the main tool to tackle *basti* problems in Dhaka since Independence. A massive eviction was carried out in January 1975 when a total of 172,589 people were evicted from their squatter settlements including *basti*, shanties and open spaces (Choguill 1987:85). In that instance, roughly 40 per cent of evicted people were taken to three relocated settlement camps namely Bhasantak in Mirpur, Dattapara in Tongi and Chonpara in Demra. The probable reasons for that eviction were: that squatters were being exploited for political purposes and that urban land was desperately needed for development projects (Choguill 1987:75). Between then and 1997, evictions took place regularly across Dhaka, but not on a massive scale as in 1975. For instance, it is estimated that about 200,000 people were affected in 30 cases of major forced eviction from 1990 to 1992 (Sinha 1994b cited in Rahman 2001:52).

However, during the period of the last government (1996-2001), eviction gained momentum and attracted national and international attention due to the court ruling and massive demonstrations by the *basti* dwellers. First in 1997, when a large-scale eviction program was under way in Vashantak led by the Ministry of Housing and Public Works, the *basti* dwellers demonstrated at rallies to protest against that decision and appealed to the prime minister not to evict them. The prime minister ordered the eviction stopped as her father had settled those people in that area following the massive eviction in 1975. Although the minister argued that the area was needed to establish the *Benarashi Silk Sari Pally* (the village for silk industries), he was sacked. Again in 1999, the Home Ministry started evictions in order to smooth the flow of Dhaka city traffic and to control drug addiction as *basti* are considered the main locus of the drug business. *Basti* dwellers again demonstrated against the decision with the help of NGOs and their coalition CUP. Several human rights organizations also came forward to support *basti* dwellers, arguing that eviction should not be carried out without proper resettlement. Finally, in August 1999, the

renowned lawyer Dr. Kamal Hussain filed a petition to the high court against *basti* eviction without resettlement, and the high court gave the ruling that *basti* dwellers should not be evicted before they are relocated.

Nevertheless, the court order did not stop the eviction fully and it is estimated that during 1999-2000, about 100,000 people were evicted (COHRE and ACHR Mission 2000:15). The caretaker government in 2001 changed the name of the *basti* eviction program, to 'illegal settlement eviction' in order to avoid the court ruling, and in this way about 17 *basti* were evicted. This analysis clearly shows that all governments have taken the eviction approach to solve the *basti* problem in Dhaka.

Resettlement/relocation

The international community has long been aware of the issue of forced eviction in Dhaka. The 1976 Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements stated that evictions should take place only when relocation measures are made, and if conservation and rehabilitation are not feasible (COHRE and ACHR Mission 2000:55). In the case of Dhaka, no resettlement measures have been undertaken in any instances until now, excepting the 1975 operation. At that time, as mentioned earlier, people were taken to three corner spots of Dhaka: 5,380 families to Dattapara, 5,480 to Chonpara and 4,000 families to Vashantak (Choguill 1987:85). The authority captured people from different places, carried them by trucks and left them in those three locations giving a plot per family. In fact, people were forcedly relocated to those three spots where they suffered badly as no facilities such as houses or jobs were provided there, and therefore, some people left those places. After that some voluntary organizations such as World Vision, Concern, Red Cross, Oxfam, Terre-des-hommes and Church of Bangladesh helped people to settle in those resettlement camps (Tasleem 1987:118, 122).

Nonetheless, that was the only resettlement program initiated and implemented by the government, and whatever subsequent governments have done has been based mainly on two of the three original relocations: Vashantak and Dattapara. People were again shifted from Vashantak to adjacent Baunia during the time of Ershad. In the third and fourth FYPs, the project of low income housing in Dhaka was also based on those two locations (Planning Commission 1985:328; 1990:xiv-2, 3). For political reasons, the development

programs of Vashantak and Dattapara were hampered in many ways. For instance, during the period of Ershad, the Dattapara camp was renamed to the President Ershad nagar probably either according to his wish or to please him, and subsequently, he approved development programs for construction of 3500 semi-*pucca* units. In 1991, the BNP government came to power and did not allocate further budget for those programs, and therefore, by 1997 it became possible to complete only 1016 units within the previously allocated budget[33]. However, nowadays, Vashantak and Dattapara settlements look like a developed community of the city because of the government's development programs to up-grade those two resettlements gradually with the assistance of DCC.

In recent years, when *basti* eviction became relatively difficult as noted above, the government was forced to think about other alternatives. In this way, only two initiatives have been under consideration for resettlement of squatters: '*Manobik Grehayan Prokolpa*' in 1999 initiated by the Directorate of Housing and Settlement (DHS), and 'Rehabilitation of slum dwellers & low income people's in multistorey buildings on government land in Dhaka city' in 1998 initiated by the Ministry of Land. Both these resettlement programs were designed as collaborative projects, which are supposed to be implemented by other organizations apart from the government. Unfortunately, the first project[34] was stopped at the initial stage, and the second project[35] still remains in the bidding stage mainly due to disagreements between the government and an NGO '*Proshika*' (as a collaborator or partner) over the authority to handle the bank account and the length of lease of the land. More importantly after the change of the government in 2001, the future of the second project is at stake as *Proshika* is blamed for working in favour of the previous government.

Basti improvement/up gradation programs

Upgrading of squatter settlements is not a very new concept. The Dutch proposed an extensive upgrading program in the kampongs of Java as far back as 1938 (Martin 1983:53). This concept can be guided by a variety of objectives such as housing project,

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[33] Information was collected from the National Housing Authority.
[34] This project was designed to construct a total of 10,000 flats on government land in Tongi. The government was supposed to give the land and the implementary organization, Libra Pty Ltd (Australia) wanted to invest the funds for construction. According to the official of DHS, Libra did not show interest in further progress.
[35] Under this project a total of 15024 flats are supposed to be built on government land in Mirpur. This project is designed like previous one. *Proshika* won the bid to work in this project as the partner. According to the director of that project, there is very little hope of implemention of that project.

basic urban services, other public infrastructure, and social services including school, health centres, playgrounds etc. More importantly, this type of development strategy is implemented in already built-up areas of a city (Baross 1983:152). Many countries in Asia such as the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, India, Pakistan, Burma, Sri Lanka and Nepal adopt settlement improvement programs with different objectives (Baross 1983:153).

As the government attitude towards *basti* of Dhaka has always been negative, *basti* improvement programs have not been adopted as a means of improving both the quality of life (QOL) of *basti* dwellers and the overall urban environment. In 1992, however, DCC undertook a 'Slum Improvement Project (SIP)[36]' funded by UNICEF only in 18 *basti*, emphasizing infrastructure development, informal primary education for children, health education for mothers, and micro-credit activities. That project ended in 1996. With a further fund from UNICEF, DCC started another new improvement project in the same year under the name 'Urban Basic Services Delivery Project (UBSDP)', which ended in 2001. Health education, infrastructure development, legal aid support to women, skill development training and satellite informal schools were included in that program, and a total of 100 centres (each centre for 2000 *basti* dwellers) were set up to carry out this program. It seems these improvement programs have not only been very insufficient, considering the size of the total *basti* population, but they depend totally on foreign aid. In addition, this type of *basti* improvement program is also carried out on an *ad hoc* basic rather than as a long-term policy.

Rehabilitation

No program was undertaken to rehabilitate the poor migrants until 1999. There has been a rehabilitation program for rural poor since the 1980s, which was introduced by the former President Ershad under the name '*Guchagram*'. For political reasons, that program was renamed twice: '*Adarshagram*' during the BNP period and '*Achrayan Prokolpa*' in the Awami League period, although its objectives remained the same. However, the last

[36] Information presented here is compiled from the interview of the Slum Development Officer, DCC and an article written by Md. Shahidul Hassan in a magazine 'Cities without slums' published by the Ministry of Housing and Public Works to mark the occasion of World Habitat Day 2001.

government launched a program titled '*Ghare Phera*[37] (Coming Back home)' in 1999 for rehabilitation of the *basti* dwellers in their own villages. The pioneer of that program is Dr. Shoaib Ahmed, a bureaucrat. When Dr. Ahmed was the managing director of the Bangladesh *Krishi* (Agriculture) Bank (BKB), he developed this concept and proposed it to the government. The main concept of this program is that *basti* dwellers who are willing to go back to their place of origin should be given necessary support, mainly in terms of loans from BKB in rehabilitating them in their villages. After considering this concept as a co-development program to solve *basti* problems, the prime minister inaugurated this program on 20 May 1999. Until July 2001, a total of 2707 families have been allocated a total of TK42 million loans for a three-year term with 10 per cent annual interest. People who have homesteads and some property in the village have been targeted for these loans, assuming that people of this type will be more likely to stay in the village and repay the loans than the landless people.

The Asian Bankers Association, and the Association of Development Financial Institutes in Asia & the Pacific have awarded the 'Asian Banking Awards 2001' to BKB for that program. The success of this program is still unknown, as no systematic evaluation has been conducted because the three-year term is not over. However, the important point is that although Dr. Ahmed is the architect of that program and it is a program of BKB, publicly it was highlighted as a program of the Awami League government. Thus, following the general election in October 2001 when the BNP took over power, this program stagnated and its future is in jeopardy.

3.6 *NGO responses to basti*

NGOs have been significant in improving the socio-economic conditions of the poor in Bangladesh, particularly in rural areas. Although NGOs started working in urban areas in the late 1980s, they have expanded their programs in urban areas very quickly and nowadays it is hard to trace a *basti* without the touch of an NGO. In most cases, a number of NGOs work in a *basti* simultaneously. Before discussing the programs of NGOs in Dhaka's *basti* and the methods of implementation, it is important first to understand the nature of NGOs and regulations under which NGOs are undertaking their programs. Then

[37] Information regarding this program was collected from the officials of Bangladesh *Krishi* Bank, Dr Shoaib Ahmed and newspapers (The daily *Sangbad* on 30-05-2001 and the daily *Bhorer Kagoj* on 17-09-2000).

the following sub-section highlights the NGO programs for *basti* dwellers, and the methods of implementation of these programs to reveal how participation occurs in these programs as discussed in Section 2.3.2.

3.6.1 Nature of NGOs in Bangladesh

Broadly, any type of social organization might be considered as an NGO. In principle, an NGO should be characterized by an independent non-commercial organization which works voluntarily with disadvantaged people for their socio-economic development. The World Bank characterizes NGOs in the following way:

> The diversity of NGOs strains any simple definition. They include many groups and institutions that are entirely or largely independent of government and that have primarily humanitarian or cooperative rather than commercial objectives. ... NGOs include charitable and religious associations that mobilize private funds for development, distribute food and family planning services and promote community organizations. ... Citizens groups that raise awareness and influence policy ... are also NGOs (The World Bank 1990: 8 cited in Cousins 1991:91).

In Bangladesh, most NGOs depend largely on foreign funds, which have been increasing over the years and stood at just below 18 per cent of all foreign aid to the country in the financial year 1995-1996 (Ahmad 2000:126). According to the funding sources and scale of activities, NGOs in Bangladesh can be categorized into three groups: international, national and local. For instance, World Vision is an international NGO which obtains its funds directly from its head office. On the other hand, national NGOs such as the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) and *Proshika* are funded by different donors for different programs and carry out programs countrywide. In addition, a large number of small (local) NGOs work with some international and national NGOs as partners basically at the implementation stage of programs and within a small geographical area.

No particular data about the numbers of NGOs are available in Bangladesh. It is guessed that there are about 25,000[38] different types of NGOs in Bangladesh, and among them a total of 1693[39] NGOs have registered with the NGO Affairs Bureau (NAB). The main reason for the large uncounted number of NGOs is that registration for opening an NGO

[38] When concerned officials were asked, they guessed.
[39] Data collected from the NGO Affairs Bureau.

can be done through more than one public department, and there is no coordination between those departments in this regard. For instance, a large proportion of NGOs receive their registration from the district social welfare office in the district in which district they would like to undertake their social activities, and this is done under the 'Ordinance No. 46 of 1961'. However, if an NGO wants to expand its activities in other districts, a further approval is required from the Directorate of Social Welfare. On the other hand, some NGOs which are operating credit programs and commercial activities have received registration from the Joint Stock Company (JSC) under the 'Societies Registration Act 1860'. By mentioning themselves as charitable societies, NGOs use the Act of 1860 for registration purposes due to the fact that their credit programs or commercial activities cannot be justified as social welfare activities under the Ordinance No. 46.

However, when an NGO wants to undertake a program funded by foreign donation, that organization has to register its name with the NAB, which is done under the 'Foreign Donations (Voluntary Activities) Regulations Rules 1978' and 'Foreign Contributions (Regulation) Ordinance 1982'. This means that unless foreign donations are used, an NGO is not supposed to go to the NAB for registration. For instance, BRAC and *Proshika* both have registered their names with the Joint Stock Company and NAB as they have credit programs and commercial activities (such as dairy farms and integrated agriculture farms), and they receive foreign donations. The purpose of these types of commercial activities or micro-credit programs is justified by arguing that the profit will help to reduce the dependency on donors.

It seems that the definition of an NGO and its limitations of activities are not well defined in Bangladesh. Similarly, the latest three acts have very little provision to control or monitor NGO activities, while the earliest Act 1860 does not have any monitoring provision. In fact, most NGOs are originated by the elite group of the society, and therefore, they do not bother about the existing rules in running an NGO. It is argued, eventually, the state is unable to control the NGOs (Ahmad 2000:46). Recently, NGOs have been criticized for their involvement in politics, as some NGOs allegedly worked for the last government in the last general election in 2001. As a result, a cabinet committee[40]

[40] This information has been summarized from different issues of several daily newpapers.

has been set up by the new government to review the activities of the NGOs and the rules and regulations regarding NGO activities. Apart from that, it is also argued that NGOs are behaving more like business organizations than social organizations (Uphoff 1995 cited in Ahmad 2000:106). Because NGOs are registered as charitable organizations, they are not paying any taxes to the government for their commercial activities. Therefore, the present government is thinking[41] to bring NGO commercial activities except credit programs under the tax net in the next budget. Nonetheless, both the GOB[42] and international donors such as World Bank (Ahmad 2000:43) seem to acknowledge the important contribution of NGO activities in alleviating poverty in Bangladesh as the state fails to reach the disadvantaged groups of the society and meet their basic human needs.

3.6.2 NGO programs in Dhaka' *basti*

After Independence in 1971, NGOs in Bangladesh started their activities mainly addressing social development issues, building the awareness of rural people and relief-oriented programs. In particular, following the dispiriting backdrop of the failure of government development programs for rural poor such as the Comilla Model and Integrated Rural Development Program[43], NGOs emerged in dealing with the grassroots beneficiaries (Basher 2001:137; Chowdhury 1990:58). Since the early 1980s, NGOs have been expanding their credit programs generally based on two arguments: (i) after motivation or awareness building, the poor need access to credit to develop their own welfare through income generating activities, and (ii) NGOs also need their own source of funding for their sustainability. In other words, NGOs in Bangladesh shifted their focus from social mobilization to economic changes for their clients (Hashemi 1995 cited in Ahmad 2000:53). Even in recent years, international NGOs in Bangladesh such as World Vision, Plan International and Concern, which were focusing on health and educational programs, particularly for betterment of the poor children, are moving towards credit programs by arguing the sustainability issue if their parent organizations stop funding. However, NGOs

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[41] The finance minister informed some NGO officials about this intention at a pre-budget meeting in Dhaka (The Daily Star, 24 May 2002, Front page, Internet version).
[42] The Finance Minister said that 95 per cent of NGOs are doing well (The Daily Star, 24 May 2002, Front page, Internet version)
[43] The Comilla Model was adopted in East Pakistan (i.e. before Independence) and after Independence, a new version of this model was introduced under the title 'Integrated Rural Development Program'. Therefore, the latter model was nothing but the former plus (Basher 2001: 158).

have included some non-traditional issues in their activities such as the environment, human rights and advocacy (Hoque and Siddiquee 1998:52).

Large numbers of NGOs are working in Dhaka's *basti* and they have different programs. Similarly, the methods of operation vary considerably from one NGO to another. Therefore, it is impossible to draw a uniform picture of these programs. However, according to the objectives and methods of operation of programs, all major recent programs are categorized as follows. As conceptualized in the participatory development approach in Section 2.3.2, the method of operation will reveal whether or not there is any scope of *basti* dwellers' participation in the development programs, and if it exists, how this participation occurs.

Credit programs

This is the major activity of NGOs operating in *basti*. Most national NGOs such as BRAC, *Proshika*, *Shakti* and the Association for Social Advancement (ASA) have credit programs and these programs are operated almost in a similar way. The general approach is the target group, in which firstly a homogeneous group (either male or female) of 5 to 20 participants are organized. Then they attend their group meetings, begin to deposit regular monetary savings to NGOs, undertake some non-formal education, planning and management activities, and eventually are granted individual loans. Recipients repay the loans individually with instalments by a certain period. The NGO fieldworkers supervise the whole procedure.

As mentioned above, international NGOs namely World Vision, Plan International[44] and Concern are moving from their social development programs (health and education) to credit programs, but they are operating the credit programs in a slightly different way from the national NGOs. While the national NGOs organize a proportion of dwellers of a community in groups, international NGOs emphasize the involvement of the whole population of a community for the development of the community. These NGOs first bring together a number of groups called 'Development Group (DG)' from a targeted community, providing functional education and other managerial basic education to those

[44] Plan International is operating credit programs through their partner NGO 'Safe-Safe'.

group members, and deposit a loan for every group in its Bank account. Every loan is utilized by the group members for their projects, and they deposit regular interest in the Bank account. The NGOs argue that after continuing the deposits for sometime every DG is likely to have some of its own capital in its Bank account. Then if the NGO withdraws its loan including interest from the bank, the DG will be able to continue its projects. In the next stage, all successful DGs from a community are forwarded to form the community-based organization (CBO) for sustainable and holistic development of the community. These international NGOs argue that once a CBO is formed, they leave the CBO because every CBO itself can apply for registration from the government to work for development of their community. After having the registration, the CBO can work with NGOs as a partner of their development programs. These international NGOs are arguing that they believe in self-reliance, and are thus building up the organization (CBO) and giving the ownership of the organization to the members so that the whole community might benefit. This approach of international NGOs is not well documented in the literature as it has only been conceptualized recently.

The basic difference between the concepts of national and international NGOs regarding their credit programs is that the former group looks at the development of individuals, while the latter group emphasizes building up the CBO, in which the mass of population of the community can be involved gradually. Nonetheless, the aim of all credit programs is to reach the disadvantaged people through their homogeneous groups, in which members are independent to express their opinions at any stage of the program. Hence, it is a participatory approach where every group acts as a basic unit of operation to bypass the political and administrative organizations. Finally, it should be mentioned that the interest rates vary among all national and international NGOs from 12 to 20 per cent per annum (flat rate), a rate that would be higher if calculated on a reduction method.

Education programs

Informal education is the only kind of education open to *basti* children. Unless parents take their own initiatives, formal education is almost out of reach of *basti* children. Available informal education programs can be divided into three groups. Firstly, some national NGOs mainly BRAC and *Proshika* are running schools that provide elementary education for children and adult education for their group members. *Surovi* and UCEP are running their

schools in a more organized way, continuing up to class eight often followed by a vocational training, but their coverage is very limited. For instance, UCEP has only 16 schools in Dhaka. These two organizations totally depend on international donors. The government has been running a basic education program 'Hard to Reach' for urban working children since January 1996 with the financial help of UNICEF, Department of International Development (DFID) and Sida. A total of 35 NGOs were involved in implementing this program in Dhaka by establishing a total of 2025 schools when it was launched. This program was supposed to end in June 2003. However, all these education programs are designed and run by the concerned organizations, and therefore, there is no scope of participation by *basti* dwellers in any stage of these education programs.

Health programs

There is no integrated health program for *basti* dwellers. In some NGOs, for instance *Shakti,* group members of credit programs are charged for medical registration. Nonetheless, members are not served properly because NGOs have very few doctors, health workers and clinics. These numbers are insufficient, not only compared to the whole *basti* population, but even for their own members. In addition, clinics are not located close to many *basti*, and therefore, it is difficult to attend clinics. However, some health programs are run by other NGOs such as Maire Stopes Clinic Society and JSI Research and Training Institute (JSI). The aim of these projects is to provide services to the low income and vulnerable urban population. Marie Stopes, an NGO funded by international donors including DFID, has been working in Dhaka since 1995 with two types of clinics: static and mini. JSI has been undertaking a five-year project named 'Urban Family Health Partnership (UFHP)' since July 1997 funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Like Marie Stopes, it has two types of clinics: static and satellite. In Dhaka, four NGOs namely PSTC, CWFD, PKSF and UTPS are implementing the UFHP project as partners of JSI. In practice, static clinics of both Marie Stopes and UFHP are providing different types of services on a regular basis, whereas mini or satellite clinics are based on very basic non-clinical services such as family planning and childcare. Static clinics cannot be found in *basti* areas, in which only mini/satellite clinics are available on an irregular basis. Like informal education programs, no health programs involve *basti* dwellers for their participation in any stage of the programs.

Basic service programs

After realizing that the diseases of *basti* dwellers are largely related to water, an NGO 'DSK (*Dushtha Shasthya Kendra)'* developed a model in 1991 called 'DSK Model' for providing piped water to the *basti*. As there was no legal status (what is called a holding number) of a *basti* for providing safe water connection, DSK took the initiative of convincing DCC and Dhaka Water and Sewerage Authority (DWASA), assuring them that if a legal connection were given to a *basti*, DSK would be guarantor for payment of water bills on behalf of the *basti* dwellers. When the authorities agreed, DSK organized a community, formed the CBO committee, and constructed a water point within the community area. The committee is responsible to collect bills from dwellers, pay the bill to DWASA and take care of the overall management of the water point. The committee also deposits the weekly repayment costs of construction to DSK and this cost is recovered within a thirty-month period. Eventually, the CBO becomes the owner of the project and runs the project themselves.

After successful implementation of this model by DSK, some international donors such as UNICEF, Water Aid, and Plan International have come forward for funding in order to connect legal water points in different *basti* under this model. In those projects, some NGOs such as DSK and PSTC are working as partners. This model is now being replicated by the Dhaka Electric Supply Company Limited (DESCO) through a partner NGO 'KRSP Utility Services' for connecting legal electricity to *basti*. This DSK model has used a participatory approach, in which *basti* dwellers are represented by their CBO committee. In this approach, administrative support from the DWASA, DESCO and DCC are required for implementation of projects.

Advocacy programs

In recent years, there has been a growing public concern about protecting the human rights of *basti* dwellers in Dhaka. Some organizations such as CUP, *Ain-O-Salishi Kendra*, *Nigera Kari* and *Manobik Sahajjya Sangstha* are very much involved in advocacy and campaigning about the human rights of *basti* dwellers. Among them, CUP is playing the key role to organize *basti* people by forming BOSC in order to demonstrate against forced eviction. CUP also send press releases, provide legal support to *basti* dwellers and seek support from the civil society in favour of the *basti* dwellers' habitat rights. This advocacy

program by CUP has been undertaken, to a great extent, for the self-interest of NGOs rather than that of *basti* dwellers because if a *basti* is evicted, a number of NGOs are likely to lose their investment in the *basti*. Although the success of this program totally depends on the volume of participation of *basti* dwellers, the participation in this program only takes place when the existence of the *basti* is threatened by the government authority.

3.7 *Conclusion*

The above discussion shows that *basti* constitute an essential part of the Dhaka city structure, and that there is great variation among the settlements for poor migrants in Dhaka. Yet *basti* have been the most neglected area not only from the development perspective but also socially. Although the theory of 'transitionality' considers that the squatter areas are undergoing a social transformation process from traditional static rural ways to modern urban life (Obudho and Mhlanga 1988:9; Wibowo 1983:2), *basti* in Dhaka are treated as a curse on the sustainability of Dhaka's overall environment. Over the last three decades, governments have mainly used forcible approaches to address the problem of *basti*, and these approaches are deemed as inappropriate in the present situation. Moreover, when positive approaches (for instance, the resettlement program in 1975 and rehabilitation program *Ghare Phera* in 1999) are taken up by any government, the future of those programs is in jeopardy through change of government. This shows that the differences in thinking between political parties in Bangladesh are a major obstacle to continuing any long-term development.

Contrary to the government's negative view, NGOs are expanding their activities to work with the urban poor in improving their living environment. But it appears that credit programs have been the major programs in which almost NGOs are involved. The point is to be noted that leading national NGOs, particularly BRAC and *Proshika* are considering education and health programs only as supporting programs of credit, indicating that social programs are given less priority than credit programs. Similarly, international NGOs are also shifting to a great extent from their social development programs to credit programs, arguing that they are not taking this credit approach in a business manner. Rather, they like to emphasize the building of CBOs, empowerment of members and self-reliance of CBOs, and thus they finally hand over the ownership of the organization to the community.

However, while different arguments are being made regarding the feasibility of NGO activities as noted in Section 1.2, the DSK model has been developed to help *basti* dwellers to gain better and formal access to basic urban services through a participatory community organization towards self-reliance. At the same time, this model brings opportunities for public utility agencies to collect potential revenue through an institutionalised framework (CBOs). The important point is that, in most cases, NGOs are working with the *basti* dwellers through institutionalizing the grassroots organization (in the form of both group-based and community-based), which is deemed an effective alternative to the state's top-down programs in improving the QOL of poor migrants in *basti*.

Chapter 4: Data and Methodology

The value of an empirical study depends on the amount of reliable relevant information, which is available on the subject. According to the nature of the three focal themes of this comprehensive migration study, which have been discussed in Section 1.2, a micro-analytical approach was designed to collect data. The reason for this decision was that three major sources of demographic data namely Census, Sample Vital Registration System (SVRS), and Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) do not provide any detailed information regarding the mobility process, as no direct questions are asked in those conventional surveys. In addition, community data are still ignored in the national data sources, although for the first time community data have been included in the last Household Expenditure Survey (HES) (BBS 1998). Because organizational interventions are examined for the improvement of quality of life (QOL) of *basti* dwellers in this study, it is important to obtain data on participation in different types of community organizations. However, while a survey can provide valuable information on different aspects of migration and attitudes of the migrants, qualitative responses of migrants can also be considered as a useful source of information to supplement that quantitative data for a better explanation and deeper understanding.

This chapter presents the selection procedure of the study areas including sampling techniques, and differences in socio-political characteristics between these areas. Then it provides information about recruitment and training of research assistants, and the methodology, focusing on both methods of data collection followed by other relevant issues such as reliability and validity of data, its processing, and fieldwork experience. Before presenting the concluding section, this chapter highlights the statistical methods, which will be used in analyzing data. However, it should be noted that the fieldwork was carried out during the period September 2001 – January 2002, and hereafter it will be called 'The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002'.

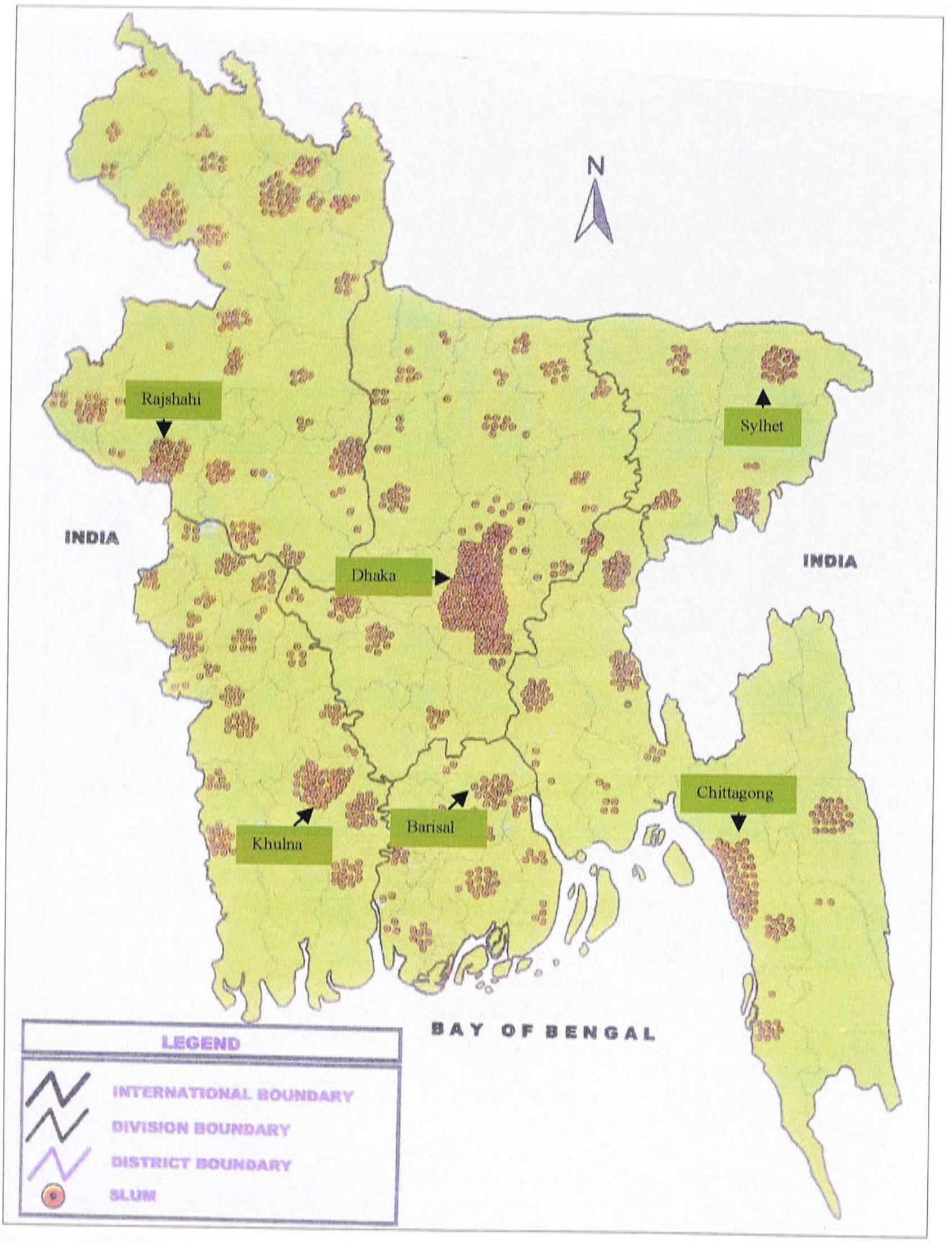
4.1 *Selection procedure of study areas*

This study was confined to Dhaka because the largest concentrations[45] of *basti* occurred in and around this city, and according to the BBS (BBS 1999:14), 53 per cent of the total *basti* (including shanties) in all urban areas of Bangladesh are located in Dhaka city. In considering the rapid expansion of *basti* settlements in Dhaka, both Government of Bangladesh (GOB) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are undertaking different programs to ameliorate the *basti* situations in Dhaka, as discussed in the previous chapter. Moreover, socio-economic conditions vary according to localities, and in the case of Bangladesh, this variation between Dhaka and other cities is considerable because economic development and other social facilities have been concentrated in Dhaka. In general, there is considerable regional and social variation in poverty, in terms of both income and human development, in Bangladesh (BIDS 2001:38). Therefore, it seemed appropriate to confine this study in Dhaka.

As noted in Section 3.1, Dhaka has a huge number of *basti*. Unfortunately, no simple reliable statistics on *basti* are preserved by any organizations in Bangladesh. So after observing the overall *basti* situation in Dhaka, I realized that conducting fieldwork in more than three *basti* would be impossible with limited funds and a short time available. Therefore, I decided to limit this study to three *basti*. This small sample might not be representative of *basti* population in all aspects, and therefore, attention was given to representativeness in terms of the particular characteristics that were relevant to the substantive interest of this research. The selection procedure was based on the following five criteria:

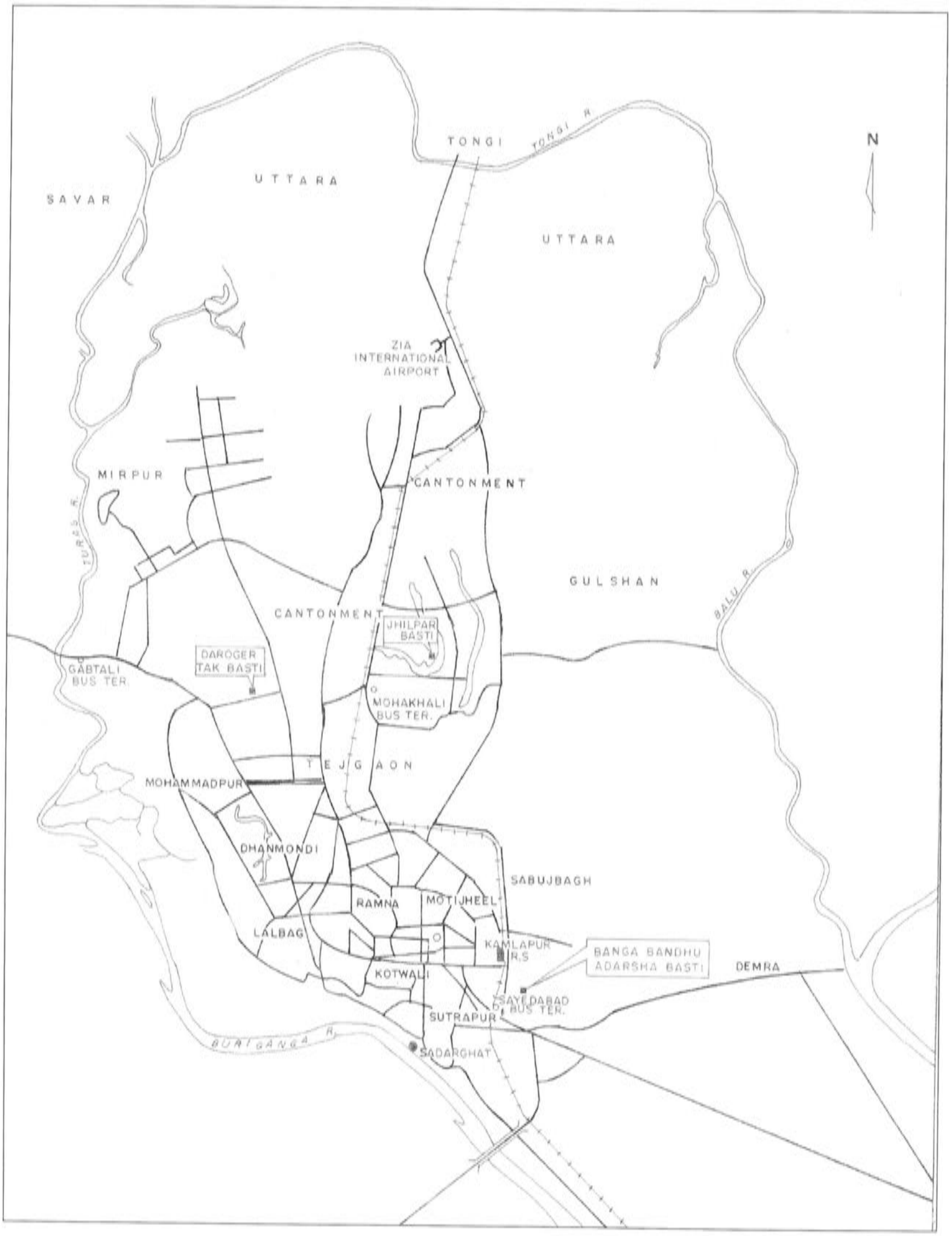
[45] See Figure 4.1. The largest concentration of *basti* has occurred in Dhaka which is located in the middle of the map. Please note that this concentration of *basti* includes shanties according to the BBS's definition discussed in Section 3.1.

Figure-4.1: The concentrations of *basti* by districts in Bangladesh - 1997



Source: BBS 1997: xi

Figure-4.2: The map of Dhaka city and the locations of study areas



Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

(i) Geographical representativeness: Dhaka[46] was divided into three regions according to the areal growth with time and development perspective[47]: old Dhaka (up to the Independence in 1971), middle Dhaka (since independence to the late 1980s) and new Dhaka (since the late 1980s). The aim of this geographical stratification was to limit the number of study areas to as few as possible (in the case of this research, three) while preserving a geographically representative spread of the eventual sample.

(ii) Entry points of Dhaka: Every major entry point might have an impact on the concentration of *basti* as upon arrival in Dhaka poor migrants may find their initial shelter close to any entry point. As can be seen from Figure 4.2, there are three interdistrict bus terminals namely Sayedabad, Gabtali and Mohakhali, which are located in old, middle and new Dhaka respectively. Similarly, there is one central railway station in Kamlapur and one steamer (launch) terminal in Sadarghat, and both these areas belong to old Dhaka.

(iii) Time of evolution of *basti*: In a general sense, the three chosen *basti* needed to have existed for different lengths of time, assuming that any *basti*'s infrastructure situation and the availability of social services might be associated with its age because the oldest *basti* have had more time than the recent ones to improve the overall living conditions.

(iv) Number of households in a *basti*: In section 3.1, *basti* have been characterized with a fragile sense of community, and this sense of community is an outcome of the integration of a considerable number of households living in a geographical unit. There is no benchmark for choosing this considerable number of households, and it may depend on the purpose of a study. However, it was assumed that choosing *basti* containing a total of approximately 250 to 500 households would give a relatively broad comparable level of community study instead of choosing smaller communities. On the other hand, selecting *basti* with more than 500 households would be difficult to census for constructing the sample frame.

(v) Level of organizational interventions: As one of the aims of this study is to examine whether interventions, especially by NGOs make any difference in the QOL between *basti*

[46] See the map of Dhaka (Figure 4.2).
[47] The development has taken place from the bottom to the upper part of the map in Figure 4.2.

households; it was essential to have a comparable set of households. Therefore, I was looking for a *basti* without any touch of an NGO intervention, but the reality is that nowadays it is almost impossible to identify such a *basti*. Accepting this fact, I decided to consider three *basti* with different levels of contact with NGOs. In addition, emphasis was given to select *basti* with different types of NGO activities as well as government interventions to have a comparable set of households in order to reveal differentiations in outputs of different development programs.

After considering these above five criteria, I selected three *basti*[48] namely Daroger tak, Jhilpar and Bangabandhu Adarsha *basti*. Each of these three *basti,* in fact, is a part of three large concentrations of *basti* settlements close to three-interdisrict bus terminals, which are located in the three geographical areas of Dhaka. Although the large *basti* concentrations of old and middle Dhaka are known as No. 14 Outfall and BNP respectively, each concentration is divided into several separate *basti,* having different names and administered by their own committees. Hence, Bangabandhu and Daroger tak were selected from the large concentration BNP and No. 14 Outfall respectively. Contrary to those two concentrations, the large settlement of new Dhaka exclusively is known as Karail *basti*, containing about 15,000 households. This settlement is only divided into three parts according to block A, B and C, and any block seemed to be too large for me to do a census. Therefore, I talked to dwellers about the structure of their community and administrative jurisdiction in order to identify a local community within the large settlement. In this way, I selected a portion of that *basti* surrounded by roads and a lake, and people of that portion were also maintaining a different community identity within the whole community. As people used to call that portion Jhilpar of Karail *basti*, I named it Jhilpar *basti*.

Sampling techniques

After selecting those three *basti* from three cluster of *basti*, a census was carried out to make the sample frame. Through the census a total of 1087 households were listed and of them, 1052 were found to be migrant households. Then by using the random sampling technique through SPSS software, I selected a sample of 500 households out of that total of

[48] See Appendix-B for the sketch maps of these three study areas.

1052 households, showing that almost one in every two households had the probability of being selected.

Differences in the socio-political settings between the study areas

The general socio-economic characteristics of *basti* have been discussed in Section 3.4. Although those general characteristics are applicable to these three-selected *basti* in a broad context, obviously characteristics of communities might differ in many ways. Therefore, this section provides in-depth information of the selected *basti* in order to focus the differences in the socio-political settings between the selected *basti*, as these settings are very important factors for analyzing the level of achievements of poor migrants living in *basti*. The information in the socio-political survey was collected through the case studies of these *basti*. Although the case study represents a comprehensive description and explanation of the many components of a given social situation (Babbie 1973:37), in this case it was restricted by my purpose to learn about the history of the *basti* and its socio-political settings.

Table 4.1 shows some significant differences between different types of social settings of these *basti*. First, some infrastructure development has been undertaken by Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) in Daroger tak, and therefore, this *basti* is structured with some metalled roads and drainage facilities while the other two *basti* remain with totally muddy roads and without any drainage facilities. Dwellers of these two *basti* make their own arrangement to get rid of stagnation of clogged water from their areas. Second, with regard to basic urban services, the table reveals that while Bangabandhu has legal water and electricity supplies, the other two communities suffer from their legal status. In this point, it is important to understand the distinction between the legal and illegal systems. Mainly because of the unauthorized settlement status, piped water provision to individual households in *basti* is almost non-existent. Nevertheless, Bangabandhu *basti* has a legal water point (standpipe), which is installed by an NGO (PSTC), according to the DSK model noted in the earlier discussion of basic service programs in Section 3.6.2. The dwellers of this *basti*, therefore, have equal access to water, which is supplied three times a day, and they pay the monthly bill equally to the *basti* committee which runs the community-based organization (CBO) for water and electricity supplies.

Table-4.1: Social settings of the selected three *basti*

Characteristics	Name of *basti*		
	Daroger tak	Jhilpar	Bangabandhu
Year of evolution[a]	1976-1977	1992-1993	1995-1996
Owner of land	Government (Public Works Department)	Semi-government (Telephone & Telegraph)	Government
Area (sq ft)[b]	82491	141445	60868
No of households	301	537	249
Structure of roads	Metalled, Muddy	Muddy	Muddy
Structure of drainage	Metalled, Own arrangement	Own arrangement	Own arrangement
Water supply	Illegal connection	Illegal connection	Legal connection
Electricity supply	Illegal connection	Illegal connection	Legal connection
Latrine facilities	Slab/ring, Hanging	Slab/ring, Hanging	Slab/ring, Hanging
Organizations running informal schools	Surovi, VARD[c]	*Proshika*, BRAC, Rutes	PSTC[d], Jubo Academy[c], UCEP[e]
Health centres	UFHP satellite clinic	No	UFHP satellite clinic
Childcare facilities	Day care-1 supported by Plan International	No	No
Graveyard facilities	No	Yes (one within *basti*)	No
Religious institutions	Mosque-1	Mosque-1, *Madrasa*-1	Mosque-1
NGOs working in credit programs	*Proshika*, BRAC, ASA, General	*Proshika*, BRAC, JUBOK	*Hitaishi, Shakti*
Other organizations	Revolving credit groups run by dwellers, Club-1	Revolving credit groups run by dwellers, Club-3	Revolving credit groups run by dwellers, Club-1

Source: The B*asti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: [a] It indicates the approximate year when some households first set up their settlements in an abandoned or vacant land. Since then, every settlement has gradually become crowded.
[b] This is an approximate measure done by myself.
[c] These NGOs are carrying out the 'Hard to Reach' program.
[d] This NGO is running 'Hard to Reach' and an adult literacy program for women.
[e] UCEP is running its school in an adjacent *basti* named Nabur *basti* within the No. 14 outfall settlement.

In contrast, tap water is supplied through illegal connections in the other two *basti* and of them, dwellers of Jhilpar have to pay cash to the provider (per jug) whenever they want to collect water, and in Daroger tak, the payment is given monthly to the provider but the water supply through a couple of points in this *basti* is irregular. In the case of electricity, although this service is provided to individual households, generally individual meters are not installed to the households. Rather, dwellers are charged according to the items used in the households. However, a legal electricity supply connection[49] is installed in

[49] The dwellers of Bangabandhu reported that their electricity connection was legally connected from the Dhaka Electectricity Supply Authority (DESA) according to the DSK model. While the NGO 'PSTC' had been the guarantor for the water supply project of this community, the community leader installed a legal

Bangabandhu *basti* with the help of the community leader. The CBO of Bangabandhu *basti* runs this electricity supply project along with the water project, and therefore, dwellers pay their monthly electricity bills along with water and other charges (such as tolls for the community mosque) to the *basti* committee. On the other hand, the other two *basti* are connected with illegal electricity connections like their water supplies, and as a result, dwellers of these two communities pay the monthly electricity bill to the illegal provider.

Third, interestingly there is a childcare centre in Daroger tak for working mothers, which is jointly run by Plan International and *basti* dwellers. A total of about 30 children are in this centre and two *basti* women are working there as carers. This initiative is an outstanding example not only for the *basti* dwellers, but also for other urban residents. Apart from these above variations, it can be seen from Table 4.1 that a number of NGOs are working in every community, and their activities make some difference among the communities. For instance, PSTC works in the water project and informal education in Bangabandhu, and Plan International supports the day care project in Daroger tak, while other NGOs operate either in informal education or credit programs or even in both programs. However, the important point should be noted here that because of the PSTC's initiation, the Bangabandhu community has a CBO, whereas there are no such types of organizations in the other two communities for collective action in improving the *basti* conditions. In addition, an unusual practice found in Bangabandhu *basti* was that houses were built in a systematic way and every house is numbered.

Party politics are also practised in different ways. This issue has been discussed in Section 3.4, which highlighted how some people gain benefits use the name of the ruling party. Here I will discuss how a community is characterized by a political party affiliation. As the general election 2001 was held during my fieldwork, I found that the signboard of the Bangabandhu *basti* was removed following the Election Day. The reason was that when the Awami League had come to power in 1996, the *basti* was renamed 'Bangabandhu' instead of '*Seba Sangha*' with the hope of avoiding the eviction threat, as the father of the new prime minister is known by that title 'Bangabandhu'. Five years later in 2001, when the Awami League government lost to the alliance of four parties led by the Bangladesh

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electricity connection in a house adjacent to the *basti*, and thus, households of this community are further connected through the local arrangement done by the CBO from that central connection.

National Party (BNP), the signboard carrying the name of Bangabandhu was removed to minimize attacks from the new ruling party supporters from the adjacent areas. In addition, due to that political change, the leader of the community hid himself somewhere else and mismanagement was found in the running of the CBO projects. Although Daroger tak is a part of a large concentration of *basti* known as BNP *basti,* dwellers of Daroger tak are not generally treated as the supporters of BNP. In this regard, Jhilpar *basti* is not characterized by the name of any political party affiliation. Nonetheless, soon after the election some strongmen, who were using the name of the new ruling party (BNP), appeared to dominate Daroger tak and Jhilpar *basti* in order to gain benefits.

It can be concluded that Daroger tak is better than the other two *basti* in terms of infrastructure such as roads and drainage, and this infrastructure development in Daroger tak has been undertaken by DCC. The provision of access to tap water and electricity is better in Bangabandhu than in the other two *basti*, and this better provision has been accelerated by the role of the *basti* committee through forming the CBO with the help of the NGO, PSTC. Since no significant government or NGO interventions have been taken place in Jhilpar, this community appears to be the most disadvantaged in terms of social settings among the three communities.

4.2 *Recruitment and training of research assistants*

After selecting the three *basti*, I recruited five persons to census the *basti*. As people are living in very congested *basti*, it is very hard for an outsider to identify each household. More importantly, dwellers do not like to talk to an unknown person or a stranger in any matters relating to the *basti*. After realizing this fact, I decided to recruit some educated and very well known persons from the selected three *basti* in order to list the names of the household heads (HHs) and their places of births for identifying the migrants. To this purpose, I recruited two *basti* dwellers for Daroger tak, two for Bangabandhu, and one for Jhilpar. Among these five, two were NGO informal schoolteachers and the others were involved in different occupations. Apart from one, all were female.

When the census was underway, I trained a total of 15 students mostly from the University of Dhaka for one week, and took them in the field with me for the pre-test survey as a part

of their training in order to familiarize them with the environment of the working place. After the training I recruited 10 of them, who completed the training successfully, as my research assistants to carry out the face-to-face questionnaire survey. In that thorough training program, a number of issues were discussed such as the purpose of the study, familiarity with the questionnaire and the way of interviewing respondents including avoiding bias, use of simple language, the order of asking questions, probing responses and recording answers correctly. Finally, I trained another three persons including two schoolteachers and one college lecturer to help me in conducting the focus group discussions (FGDs) as note takers.

4.3 *Methods of data collection*

The research is mainly based on primary data collected through household survey, FGDs and in-depth interview. Hence, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to gather the primary data. Secondary information relating to this research was collected and evaluated from the published and unpublished documents. These secondary data were mainly collected from the BBS, CUS and ICDDR,B to provide a background in which to situate this research. The methods of primary data collection are discussed below.

4.3.1 Quantitative data

Primary quantitative data are used as a major source of information in the analysis of this research. Therefore, a household[50] survey was carried out to gather primary information. The main reason for choosing the household survey was that the characteristics of the household play an important role in the decision of an individual or a family to move or not to move. Secondly, it is in the household that people bring together their achievements in order to have a better life after migrating to Dhaka. As Glick (1959:576) argues, the household is the unit of population which occupies one dwelling unit and which is therefore the most relevant population concept for use in housing analyses. Thus, the household has become central to the study of dependency, migration, income maintenance, economic status, and social adjustments. Moreover, all household members are experiencing the same QOL, and if a household belongs to any social organization, all members experience the impact of such involvement.

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[50] The definition of a household and its head have been given in Section 1.7.

Household survey

The aim of this survey was to gather information mainly about the migration process and the demographic, socio-economic and physical characteristics of migrant households living in the selected *basti*. This survey was conducted through a face-to-face structured questionnaire[51], in which respondents were the HHs as they were deemed the key decision-makers in migration and better providers of information on the household. The unit of analysis of the sample is the household. The initial questionnaire was developed in English, and upon arrival in Dhaka it was translated in Bengali for conducting the pre-test. Finally, the questionnaire was printed in Bengali after the pre-test. The survey started on 19 October 2001 and continued to 11 January 2002.

The survey team started working for a whole week in each *basti*, and a long time at the weekend (Friday and Saturday) from 8.00am to 10.00pm in order to catch the HHs as some heads go to work at about 6.00am and return after 10.00pm almost everyday. Later, we sorted out the time of availability of non-interviewed respondents, as my assistants were told to write down the possible time of availability of a respondent if he/she was not found at the first visit. On the basis of this information, we figured out the best strategy to catch the rest of heads, and were successful in interviewing a total of 460 households up to 11 January 2002.

Table-4.2: The success of conducting the household survey (Number) by *basti*

Name of *basti*	Listed households	Selected households	Interviewed households	Non-interviewed households
Daroger tak	295	145	137	8
Jhilpar	536	247	224	23
Bangabandhu	221	108	99	9
Total	1052	500	460	40

The main reason for non-responses was the unavailability of the respondents. Some people were visiting their places of origin with their families during the survey. On the other hand, only four respondents refused to provide information, saying that they had done it several times but it did not bring any benefits for them. Two dwellings were found empty and it was reported that the members of these two households were living somewhere else with other relatives. These reasons are shown in Table 4.3.

[51] See Appendix-C for the questionnaire

Table-4.3: Reasons for non-responses (Number) by *basti*

Name of *basti*	Visiting the place of origin	Unavailable for interviewing	Refused to interview	Living elsewhere	Others
Daroger tak	1	4	2	0	1
Jhilpar	5	15	1	1	1
Bangabandhu	5	1	1	1	1
Total	11	20	4	2	3

During the survey, I adopted some methods of ensuring consistency throughout the processes of conducting the survey. Firstly, during the survey my assistants found that 16 households had moved from the listed addresses and new tenants (obviously migrants) had come there. So the survey team interviewed the new tenants, as our target was the household not individuals. Secondly, my assistants were not encouraged to interview a second informant in the absence of the head as I found that most second informants were not well informed about the migration process. Only a total of six second-informants were interviewed when I personally made sure that they were capable of providing information. Finally, a total of 32 respondents had to be chosen as substitutes, and the reasons for substitutions can be seen from the Table 4.4. Although migrated households were listed in the sample frame, during the survey 15 listed household heads were found born to have been in Dhaka. In many cases, household members or neighbours were asked to provide information about the birthplace of heads during the census, and often those people were not very sure about that information. In addition, four households moved to another place, and no new tenants were found there. In these cases, the next unselected household listed in the sample frame was included in the sample.

Table-4.4: Reasons for substitution (Number) by *basti*

Name of *basti*	Born in Dhaka	Returned to the place of origin	Moved to another place	No body found in listed address	Others
Daroger tak	2	5	1	2	2
Jhilpar	8	1	2	1	0
Bangabandhu	5	0	1	2	0
Total	15	6	4	5	2

Demographic characteristics of surveyed population

People are living in *basti* mostly with families as the household survey shows that there are only 4.6 per cent of households (460), having a single member. Similarly, 88.7 per cent of the population of those households are in close kinship relations in terms of husband, wife, son and daughters, indicating that the family organization is mainly based on the nuclear family concept. In relation to migration status, 71.2 per cent of all persons were migrants as they were born elsewhere other than Dhaka city. The average household size and sex ratio of this population are 4.4 and 99 respectively compared to the corresponding figures 4.1 and 106 for the total *basti* (including shanties) population in Dhaka (BBS 1999:xiii). The household size is smaller in Jhilpar *basti* (3.8) than the other two *basti* (4.5 in Bangabandhu and 5.2 in Daroger tak). However, apart from Bangabandhu, some messes[52] were found in the other two *basti*. The largest number, 25 messes, was found in Jhilpar, among them 15 for women and 10 for men, while two male messes were found in Daroger tak. The number of members of messes also varied between *basti* from at best five in Jhilpar to about 25 in Daroger tak.

4.3.2 Qualitative data

This thesis has been based on both quantitative and qualitative data because while quantitative data are able to reveal the simple social facts, in an exploratory migration research like this, qualitative data may provide useful insight for a deeper understanding of social reality than would be obtained from purely quantitative data (Silverman 2001:32). The strength of qualitative methods are that they generate rich and detailed data, usually leaving the research participants' perspectives intact (Steckler et al 1992 cited in Bender and Ewbank 1994:64). There are various ways of collecting qualitative data, and already the observation method has been used in Chapter 3 and the case study method in the earlier section 4.1. These two methods were used to a limited extent in accordance with the purposes. However, the following three methods[53] namely FGDs, life history (LHs) and in-depth interviews were also used to collect qualitative data, which provides certain types of factual and descriptive information – the hard evidence (de Vaus 2002:5).

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[52] A mess indicates a group of people who live in a room or dwelling like a boarding-house, and thus, pay rent individually to the owner.

[53] The language used in these methods was Bengali.

Focus group discussions

One male and one female FGD were conducted in each *basti*. FGDs were started from 7 December 2001 when the large proportion of the questionnaire surveys had already been completed, and continued up to 4 January 2002. The discussion was conducted at the NGO informal school centres of each *basti* at the weekend, as people were more likely to be at home at the weekend. Every participant of a group was contacted one week earlier to make sure that he/she would participate in the discussion. Nonetheless, in some cases two to three listed participants were not found in due time. A substitute, therefore, having almost the same characteristics of the unavailable participants was chosen, although it was difficult to find such a substitute.

Each group was structured by recruiting people from every section of people of each community in order to have the common views of migrants and their explanations of common experiences. Prior to doing this, I had developed a screening form based on participants' six characteristics: gender, age, educational qualification, the status of present occupation, the place of birth and the status of organizational involvement. Then I talked to people individually or in a group in order to make the list of the prospective participants. In particular, I emphasized whether they had experienced the migration cycle of life and their depth of knowledge regarding their living environment and development programs. This selection process led to the gathering of what Weiss (1994:17) calls 'a wide-ranging panel of knowledgeable informants'. After scrutinizing the screening forms and considering other information, I selected 10 to 11 people for each group. The characteristics of participants are given in Table 4.5.

All participants of focus groups had experienced the migration event, were living in the same environment and sharing common facilities within their community, which are major issues under investigation, and thus every group can be seen as similar in status or homogeneous. Any *basti* dwellers known as strongmen (*mastans*) or political local leaders were deliberately excluded from the groups, assuming that general participants would not feel free to discuss in the presence of that type of person. Typically, participants gave their opinions and reflected ideas that agreed or disagreed with those of others in their

community environment. Participants of each group were guided[54] to discuss their migration process, different aspects of life in *basti,* intentions about the return to the origin, and the government or NGO interventions based on their own *basti*. This method reflected the group or community's attitudes rather than individual ones, and therefore, the unit of analysis of the focus group would be considered to be the community level. Each group discussion was continued up to about one hour, and it was recorded by using an audiotape.

Table-4.5: Characteristics of participants of six focus groups

Gender of group: name of *basti*	No. of parti-cipants	Age range (year)	Level of education	Types of occupation	No. of districts of origins	Status & types of organizational involvement
Female group: Banga-bandhu	11	18-41	Illiterate-4 [a]Can sign-4 Primary-1 Secondary-1 HSC-1	Housewife-4, Factory worker-2, Garment worker-1, Maid servant-1, Tailor-1, Teacher-1, [b]Unemployed-1	8	Previously NGO group-2 Own group-1 NGO group-1 Never-7
Male group: Banga-bandhu	11	23-84	Illiterate-3 Can sign-3 Primary-2 Secondary-3	Rickshaw puller-3, Driver-1, Grocer-1, Vendor-3, Carpenter-1, Beggar-1 Unemployed-1	7	Previously own group-1 NGO group (wife)-1 Never-9
Female group: Jhilpar	10	19-47	Illiterate-3 Primary-5 Secondary-2	Housewife-5, Garment worker- 2, Unemployed-3	7	Previously NGO group-1 Own group-1, NGO group-4, Never-4
Male group: Jhilpar	10	26-48	Illiterate-2 Can sign-1 Primary-3 Secondary-4	Rickshaw puller-1, Grocer-1, Vendor-1, Carpenter-2, Garment worker-1, Gov. Service-2, Shop Asst-1, Unemployed-1	6	Previously NGO group-2 Own group-2 NGO group-3 Never-3
Female group: Daroger tak	11	19-43	Illiterate-6 Can sign-4 Primary-1	Housewife-5, Garment worker-2, Tailor-1, Grocer-1, *Pitha* Seller-1, Unemployed-1	7	Previously NGO group-4 Own group-2 NGO group-1 Unknown group-1 Never-3
Male group: Daroger tak	10	20-51	Illiterate-6 Primary-2 Secondary-1 SSC-1	Rickshaw puller-2, Grocer-1, Vendor-2, Day labor-2, Mason-1, Govt. Service-1, Milk cow rearing-1	5	Previously NGO group-3 Both own & NGO group-1 Own group-1, NGO group-3, Never-2

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: [a] Participants can only write their name

[b] Employed previously mainly in garments, but now she is unemployed

[54] Guidelines for focus group discussion is given in Appendix-D.

Life history

The LH method was considered to be a valuable piece of information to supplement the statistical information. After conducting the questionnaire survey and FGDs, I realized that deeper information was needed in analyzing the quantitative data more meaningfully. Therefore, I decided to interview some dwellers from three *basti* for obtaining their LHs. The purpose of this type of unstructured interviewing method was not to present respondents' whole LH but rather to examine their experiences of migration and views about their life in new social surroundings. This type of limited mode of life history is often referred as 'the topical life history' instead of 'the complete or comprehensive life history' (Minichiello et al. 1995:113). The participants were selected purposively from different sections of the *basti* population with different experiences of mobility. A total of nine ordinary participants of the three *basti* were chosen rather than an out-lier, and all these interviews were recorded. Table 4.6 presents the characteristics of participants interviewed for LHs.

Table-4.6: Characteristics of interviewees for life history

Sl. No.	Name of *basti*	Gender	Age (year)	Marital status	District of origin	Length of stay (year)	Occupation
1	Jhilpar	Female	26	Separated	Barguna	20	Maid servant
2	Jhilpar	Female	34	Married	Brahminbaria	4	Maid servant
3	Jhilpar	Female	24	Widow	Sherpur	1	[a]Unemployed
4	Jhilpar	Male	48	Married	Brahminbaria	6	Security Guard
5	Banga-bandhu	Male	50	Married	Madaripur	28	Rickshaw-puller
6	Banga-bandhu	Male	54	Married	Jhalokathi	27	Tailor
7	Banga-bandhu	Female	33	Married	Comilla	7	Maid servant
8	Daroger tak	Male	54	Married	Comilla	30	Contractor
9	Daroger tak	Male	45	Married	Brahminbaria	5	Day Labour

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: [a] The lady is a garment worker, but had been unemployed recently.

In-depth interviews

In order to understand the nature of different development programs for the *basti* dwellers, the ways they were implemented, and the problems or obstacles to implement them, a total of 27 semi-structured interviews were conducted with the concerned government officials, semi-government officials, autonomous body officials, NGO officials and fieldworkers, and academics. In those interviews it was also examined to what extent policies regarding

those programs formulated by the government and NGOs had been reflected at the field level. Among these 27 interviewees, 14 were NGO officials and fieldworkers, nine were government officials, and the number of autonomous body officials and academic were three and one respectively. Apart from a few interviews with NGO officials, most interviews were conducted mainly at the end of the fieldwork when the questionnaire survey and focus group discussions had already been completed. In some cases, frankly speaking, interviewees had reservations about the recording of their comments, and hesitated as well to discuss while an audiotape was operating. In those cases, therefore, I wrote the information down on paper, and showed it to the interviewees to check whether any distortion was made mistakenly. However, the rest of the interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees.

4.4 *Reliability and validity of data*

Both reliability and validity are important issues in field research (Silverman 2001:231). Reliability refers to the degree of consistency of data, and validity refers to data that are not only consistent but also true and accurate (Fisher et al. 1991:30). In these regards, a pre-test of the household survey was conducted to ensure that the respondents were able to understand the questions and answer them usefully. In addition, all my research assistants, as noted in Section 4.3, were given an extensive training in order to collect the utmost reliable and valid data. More importantly, I supervised this survey to help my assistants in any difficult situations and monitored their works. Every day I checked all completed questionnaires to find out errors, omissions and inconsistency of answers, and in any of these cases, assistants were directed to revisit the concerned household to correct mistakes that would not be otherwise resolved. In addition, I revisited about 10 per cent of the sample to ask certain key questions and checked the responses against those reported earlier to ensure the accuracy of the initial answers.

In FGDs, assistants were trained mainly in taking notes as I conducted every discussion as a moderator. Soon after a group discussion, in the presence of my assistants I listened to the recorded discussion and checked with notes to make sure that there would not be any problem to identify the speakers and their emotions or attitudes for transcribing accurately. Similarly, a substantive frame was developed initially to guide the interviews on the right

track, but that frame was slightly modified and refined based on ideas that emerged during the fieldwork. All interviewees were encouraged to elaborate their views on different issues for an in-depth understanding. Finally, all these functions were undertaken in both the quantitative and qualitative data collection processes to ensure a high quality of data for this research.

4.5 *Data processing*

With the field part of the household survey completed, coding and data entry were begun while I was collecting qualitative data. On the basis of a final check on the completed questionnaires regarding their completeness, accuracy and uniformity, the coding scheme was done by myself and a codebook was developed as well. A data entrant[55] was hired for entering data in SPSS software, and that entry process was personally supervised by myself. On the other hand, all recorded qualitative data were personally transcribed in Australia after coming back from the fieldwork in order to make transcripts.

4.6 *Fieldwork experience*

Working in *basti* of Dhaka is a challenge in many ways. Firstly, there are so many *basti* and they are so scattered across Dhaka city that it is impossible to familiarize with every community to understand their situations. Secondly, *basti* dwellers talk to an outsider with suspicion, assuming that any conversation with a stranger might put them in trouble. To familiarize with a community and learn about it, initially I was taking help from different NGO fieldworkers who introduced me to different communities. In this way, after obtaining some ideas about the socio-political situations of *basti*, I moved alone to *basti*. The technique I used to enter a community was that first I sat in a shop adjacent to that *basti* and talked to people in a general way and gradually about my purpose. When people were convinced about my purpose, they selected one person to take me inside the *basti* and introduced me within the community.

The third and major challenge was related to the security concerns of the survey team. Every member of the team had to work on some nights to catch the respondents, as they

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[55] The data entrant was an experienced person as he has been working for a long time as a research assistant in Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) and a private organization.

were only available at night. Therefore, I had to monitor a good communication network between team members so that measures could be taken to avoid any untoward situation happening. For instance, when the team was working in Daroger tak at the night of 21st and 22nd of October 2001, gunshots were going on in that area, making people scared, and some *basti* dwellers advised us to leave that place instantly. Similarly, some young strongmen of Jhilpar *basti* asked my three assistants about their purpose of working in that *basti*, but when my assistants referred to me fortunately nothing happened due to the fact that these young men were well informed about my project.

On the other hand, a very good relationship developed gradually between the survey team and surveyed communities. Even all research assistants were very happy with the *basti* dwellers for their cordial behaviour. My personal feeling is that although *basti* of Dhaka are considered as taboo, the majority of the dwellers are very ordinary people. They are inevitably looking for a simple livelihood but are frequently hampered by the activities of strongmen or outlawed persons.

4.7 *Methods of data analysis*

The descriptive analyses are carried out mainly based on three types of binary tools which depend on the types of data and these tools are: cross-tabulations (Chi square and Cramer's V test), analysis of variance (the mean procedure- F test) and correlation (Pearson correlation test). Apart from these binary techniques, scaling methods are used to develop an index from a set of variables, while other multivariate methods are used to summarize the results appeared through the descriptive analysis. The aim of this section, therefore, is to highlight these methods of analyses. It should be mentioned here that qualitative data are used in elaborating the statistical analysis and these data collected through FGDs, LHs and in-depth interviews are transcribed before their use.

Scaling methods

Scaling is a scientific device for placing people on a continuum in relation to one another with regard to a single issue, and this technique is used in Chapter 6 to develop some indexes. This procedure has been mainly used in psychology and other behavioural sciences to translate people's attitudes and behavioural phenomena into numbers for using

a wide variety of analytical techniques to analyze them (Manning and Rosenstock 1968:47; Nunnally 1978:12). Scaling methods (or indexes) are also widely used in social sciences to measure the physical objects or social status (McCutcheon 1983:112; Miah and Weber 1990:76-85; Riley and Toby 1954:52; Savasdisara 1983:61) and this method is used in this thesis (Chapter 6). There are no specific rules for the development of a scale measure (Nunnally 1978:12, 24). A scale might be developed from an elaborate deductive model, previous experience, common sense or only hunches, and the success of the procedure is in how well the measurement method serves to explain important phenomena (Nunnally 1978:5).

However, two considerations need to be taken into account for the development of a scale: the ordering of objects and unidimensionality or homogeneity of items. First, although values of the scales are arbitrarily selected by the investigator, these values should be meaningful and convenient to handle in analyzing them. Moreover, any ordering should follow the straight-line model as it is assumed that the measurement between two values in the scale is continuous (Miah 1993:315; Oppenheim 1966:121). Second, unidimensionality means that a scale should be measuring one dimension or a single variable, which will be described by all the items belonging together. In other words, a scale consists of all the attributes of interest to the investigation which have a common content, so that they are classified under a single heading which indicates that content (Ford 1954:275; Guttman 1944:141; Oppenheim 1966:121; Riley Jr 1954:19). Therefore, correlation techniques are needed to test how the items 'hang together' and which of them are 'purest' (Oppenheim 1966:121). Regarding unidimensionality, factor analysis is used to eliminate items that do not belong and to keep items that have high 'loadings' on the variable that is going to be measured (Oppenheim 1966:142). In factor analysis, the Alpha coefficient or Cronbach's alpha ranges from zero to one, and a value of 0.70 is desirable. However, a value of greater than 0.60 is regarded as satisfactory in social sciences, while for clinical applications much higher values are necessary (Campbell and Machin 1999:30; Savasdisara 1983:65-74).

Discriminant analysis

This multivariate statistical procedure is used in Chapter 5. This technique is appropriate either to describe group differences or to predict group membership on the basis of the response variable measures (Huberty 1994:28; Huberty et al. 1986:479; Klecka 1990:7;

Tabachnick and Fidell 1996:507). There are two basic prerequisites to use the method of discriminant analysis: (i) two or more groups exist in the data cases and these groups we presume differ on several variables, and (ii) those variables can be measured at the interval or ratio level (Klecka 1990:8). However, one way of dealing with a categorical variable in discriminant analysis is to transform it to binary form by means of defining dummy variables (Huberty 1994:152; Huberty et al. 1986). The independent variables used to distinguish among the groups are called 'discriminant variables'. On the other hand, dependent variables are treated as 'grouping variables', which can have more than two values and these values must be integers.

Scores on a grouping variable identify the differences between groups (Huberty 1994:3) and these scores are calculated through the discriminant functions. The discriminant function score for a case is computed by multiplying the raw score on each discriminating variable by its corresponding co-efficients and adding together these products (Nie et al. 1975:443; Tabachnick and Fidell 1996:517). These discriminant functions are of the form in the following equation:

$$D_i = d_{i1}Z_1 + d_{i2}Z_2 + \text{----------} + d_{ip}Z_p \qquad (4.7.1)$$

Where D_i is the score on discriminant function i, the d's are weighting co-efficients, and the Z's are the standardized values of the P discriminating variables used in the analysis. The maximum number of functions which can be derived is either (i) the number of groups minus one or (ii) the number of variables, whichever is smaller (Nie et al. 1975:435, 442; Tabachnick and Fidell 1996:517).

Multiple classification analysis (MCA)

MCA[56] is used in Chapter 6 for examining the relationships between several independent variables and a dependent variable within the context of an additive model. It assumes that the average score (on the dependent variable) for a set of individuals is predictable by adding together the effects of several factors. The advantage of the MCA technique is that it handles categorical data with more flexibility than other techniques such as multiple

[56] For a detail description, please see Andrews et al. 1973.

regression analysis and discriminant analysis. Another key feature of this MCA technique is that it shows the effect of each independent on the dependent variable both before and after taking into account the effects of all other variables, while other techniques can do this only when the data are of a prescribed form. However, there are some data considerations for using the MCA method. First, the dependent variable should be measured on an interval scale (or a numerical), and it should not be badly skewed. Second, the independent variables may be measured on nominal or ordinal or interval scales. Finally, independent variables should not be highly correlated as the results in the additive model can be distorted by interactions. The statistical model is as follows:

$$Y_{ij\ldots n} = \ddot{Y} + a_i + b_j + \ldots + e_{ij\ldots n} \qquad (4.7.2)$$

Where $Y_{ij\ldots n}$ is the score on the dependent variables, $\ddot{Y}$ indicates the grand mean on the dependent variable, a_i is the effect of membership in the i-th category of independent variable A and similarly b_j shows the effect of membership in the j-th category of predictor B, and $e_{ij\ldots n}$ are the error terms.

Logistic regression

This multivariate statistical technique, which is considered for the case where the dependent variable is dichotomous, is used in Chapter 7. There are two important things to note regarding the logistic regression: (i) The relationship between explanatory variables and the dependent variable is non-linear, and (ii) The regression coefficients are estimated using maximum likelihood (Stevens 2002:146-147). The advantage of the logistic regression is that it does not only require a linear relationship between the dependent and each independent variable, and any type of independent variables can also be used in the model. In logistic regression, the probability of an event occurring is directly estimated because there are only two possible outcomes for the dependent variable. The logistic model is shown as follows:

$$\log_e (P/(1-P)) = b_0 + b_1 * X_1 + b_2 * X_2 + b_3 * X_3 + - - - + b_n * X_n \qquad \text{-------- (4.7.3)}$$

Where p is the proportion at each value of the explanatory variable X, and b_0--b_i are numerical coefficients to be estimated. The left hand side of the equation is generally known as 'log-odds function' and therefore, odds equal to the value of P/(1-P).

4.8 *Conclusion*

This chapter has mainly focused on the source of data employed in the research including the selection procedure of study areas, their socio-political and demographic characteristics. It has been found that there are some differences in social settings among the three communities, and in particular, Bangabandhu community seems to be a more integrated community than the other two since this community has a CBO, which is run by the *basti* committee and this committee works for a collective effort in improving the livelihoods of dwellers. Similarly, housing in Bangabandhu community is also organized in a systematic way, which is unusual in the *basti* context. The Bangabandhu community is more known as a politically motivated community than the other two communities. On the other hand, infrastructures such as road and drainage have been found to be better in Daroger tak, while Jhilpar appears to have the least social facilities. In terms of demographic characteristics, it is apparent that poor migrants live in *basti* with family through close kinship relations, and about 29 per cent of household members are not migrants as they were born in Dhaka, showing the appearance of a considerable proportion of the second generation in the population of migrant households.

This chapter has also highlighted some other factors related to data collection such as recruitment of assistants, data processing and the quality of data. From the earlier discussion in these regards, it can be concluded that necessary measures were taken to ensure the quality of data. Moreover, a brief experience of the fieldwork has been highlighted, and the experience suggests that conducting a survey in *basti* of Dhaka is not an easy task. Finally, a brief description has been given of the statistical methods of data analysis used in the research to inform readers in advance. In the following chapters, these fieldwork data will be analyzed in detail to reveal the findings on the main three themes of this research.

Chapter 5: The Dynamics of *Basti* Migration in Dhaka

People normally do not move, but they experience life cycle changes which create a desire or a necessity for them to move (Alatas 1985:3). Thus, the movement of people from one geographical unit to another has always been a matter of interest (Garnjana-Goonchorn 1974:1). The interest of poverty-induced migration is generally seen as a family survival strategy (Mukherji 2000:2) or a necessity for life cycle changes through economic opportunities (Oropesa and Landale 2000). Nonetheless, the reasons that impel the migrants to move into the city are not entirely clear due to the diversity of causes and their relative importance (Breese 1968:446). In addition, the causes or determinants of migration might undergo a transformation over time in line with the changing conditions at the place of origin and urban destination. Rural-urban migration studies, therefore, have been dynamic in nature and descriptive, concerning a number of key questions: Who are the migrants in cities? Why do they migrate? What are the factors that influence people to move from rural areas to urban centres? How do migrants differ among themselves in terms of different factors? (Goldstein et al. 1974:1; Singh 1984:14; Sovani 1966:68; Todaro 1997:27).

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the dynamics of the migration process towards the *basti* of Dhaka and how migrants differ among themselves in terms of their migration behaviour to address the first two research questions adopted in Section 1.2. The diversity of immediate causes and other influential factors accelerating the *basti* migration are analyzed in this chapter according to the framework conceptualized in Section 2.1. This chapter is organized into nine sections where the first section presents the definition and measurements of variables used in analyzing the diversity of the migration process. Strategies of data analysis are provided in the second section, while the following five sections categorically analyze the migration process and investigate how migrants vary among themselves in every aspect of the migration process. The eighth section presents a multivariate analysis to summarize differences that exist among migrants. Finally, a brief summary of the major findings concludes this chapter.

5.1 *Definitions and measurements of variables*

According to the framework, a total of 19 variables have been selected to explore the five aspects of poverty-induced migration towards Dhaka. The measure used for these variables is taken directly from the *Basti* Survey 2001-2002 questionnaire that asked respondents to provide information on these matters. The detailed definitions and measurements of these variables are displayed in Table A3 of Appendix–A. Nonetheless, a brief introduction to these variables is given below for a better understanding.

Push-pull factors, the first element of the framework, are determined by the reported reasons (RESON) for migrating to Dhaka. Respondents were encouraged to provide as many responses as they liked and to order them, if more than one reason was given, according to their importance. The most important reason was recorded as the principal reason; the immediate less important one was recorded as the secondary reason and so on. However, all reasons, irrespective of order of importance, are recoded into 15 categories. Among them, 14 categories are classified under the push-pull dichotomy, and the remaining one represents a different group of respondents who were brought as children to Dhaka by their parents.

Three other elements of the framework namely selectivity of movement, patterns of movement and rural-urban control subsystems are investigated by three different sets of variables, and every set consists of five variables. For instance, respondents' age at migration (AGEMI), sex (SEX), educational level (EDUCA), previous labour force status (PLFOR), and asset-holding status in the place of origin (ASSET) are measured to examine the selectivity of movement. Similarly, variables RURBA (rural-urban migration), DISOR (places of origin of migrants), DIREC (direct migration), PIVIS (prior visit to Dhaka) and FMIGR (initially family migration) are selected for analyzing the patterns of movement, while SOURC (source of information), DECIS (decision of migration), STAYW (initial shelter upon arrival), HELPR (help in finding the first accommodation) and HELPJ (help in finding the first job) are taken into account for measuring the influence of rural-urban control subsystems on the propensity to move. The final set of variables comprising RELAT (relatives in the place of origin), VISIT (visiting the place of origin in the last 12

months) and REMIT (remittances sent to the place of origin) is used to assess the nature and strength of ties with the place of origin according to the last element of the framework.

5.2 *Strategy of analysis*

Primarily, five aspects of the migration process are investigated for an understanding of the nature of *basti* migration, in which reported reasons for migration, relative influences of three other sets of determinants for movements, and the nature of urban-rural (origin) ties maintained by migrants are analyzed. Simultaneously, every element is examined to reveal how migrants vary among themselves in these five aspects of migration, characterizing this examination as a comparative analysis. Hence, the question arises how this comparative analysis can be carried out meaningfully. At least two strategies may be feasible for carrying out such a comparative analysis: (i) according to the time of migration and (ii) according to the present community in which migrants are currently residing.

In considering the first approach, data show that more than 93 per cent of respondents migrated after Independence in December 1971, suggesting that it has been mainly three decades (1972-1981, 1982-1991 and 1992-2001) in which almost all respondents migrated. Therefore, an analysis can be carried out according to the time of migration or cohorts. But this type of comparative analysis based on cross-sectional data might be confounded by the effects of out-movements from the study communities, and this out-movement is about 9 per cent per annum as mentioned in Section 3.3. In fact, this analysis presents a comparison between the recent and long-term migrants who are remaining in *basti*.

On the other hand, a comparative analysis between the three *basti* will be able to show the significant ways in which these three groups of migrants vary according to their migration behaviour. These differentials are crucial for analyzing the heterogeneity of the community formation in Dhaka, which is an important factor in determining the level of achievement in the destination. In this regard, Ross (1973:5) has argued that it is appropriate to compare between squatter communities to note both the general trends and the ways in which development diverges in different ways. In addition, in the case of this research, analyzing the data according to the three communities may provide a rough indication between the recent and long-term migrants because their length of stay in Dhaka varies significantly

between the three communities. The mean of the length of stay in Dhaka suggests that migrants of Bangabandhu (mean-19.5 yrs and standard deviation (SD)-11.2yrs) and Daroger tak (mean-17.7 yrs and SD-10.18 yrs) can be considered as the long-term migrants, while migrants of Jhilpar are relatively recent migrants (mean-11.1 yrs and SD-8.5 yrs). Therefore, a comparative study according to the three communities seems to be an appropriate strategy to analyze the data for fulfilling the purposes of this study. In this strategy, time of migration can be controlled for more clarification of the analysis wherever it is needed depending on whether the sample size allows it. In the case of this analysis, respondents are divided into two groups[57]: recent (those who migrated in the last 15 years) and long-term (those who migrated 15 years ago).

In line with the above community-based analytical strategy, a binary analysis is carried out by using the cross-tabulation statistical technique in the following five sections. The results of cross-tabulations are presented in the contingency tables with the results of the Chi square test and the Cramer's V test as both the independent and dependent variables are ordered and unordered in nature. Apart from the binary analysis, a multivariate analysis is used in Section 5.8 to provide a comprehensive picture of the differences that exist between the three groups of migrants. The choice of variables that are entered into the model of the multivariate analysis is based on their importance in the binary analysis. Finally, additional information will be presented from qualitative data to supplement the quantitative variables, making analysis more meaningful.

5.3 *Push-pull factors*

This section deals with one of the most important questions in rural-urban migration research: why do people move? There is no simple comprehensive answer to this question as decisions to move can be influenced by a set of factors (Hugo 1975:457), characterizing migration as a complex affair. Nonetheless, when people are asked about reasons for migration, these reported reasons provide the prime important factors that lead people to move to cities. Distinguishing these reasons as the push from rural areas and the pull of urban areas is a useful technique to emphasize the importance of a particular motive in the

[57] Duration of residence in Dhaka refers to the time of migration. Hereafter respondents who migrated in the last 15 years from the year of the survey (2001) will refer to the recent migrants, and those who migrated before this 15-year period will refer to the long-term migrants. In other words, migration status will be considered in terms of recent and long-term migrants.

decision to migrate (Gugler 1982:55). The aim of this section is to reveal the reported reasons for migrating to Dhaka, and to what extent these reasons vary among the respondents of the three *basti*.

It is often hard to distinguish between push and pull factors, and therefore, emphasis was given to understanding the basic objectives or motives of the migration decision from the description of each reason stated by respondents. As mentioned in Section 5.1, stated reasons have been ordered according to their importance if more than one reason was reported by a respondent, and then these reasons have been categorized into 15 groups. In a broader sense, some categories are closely associated with each other and could be recoded together, but different categories are used here to distinguish the respondent's expression in responses in order to perceive the underlying reasons for migration or reveal the differences in the intensity of stress which caused migration. For instance, destitution can be considered as more stressful than any other category as respondents belonging to the destitution category stated that lack of food or financial scarcity in running the family compelled them to move. However, with regard to multiple reasons reported by a respondent, a total of 153 respondents out of 411 (excluding the parental decision category) cited a secondary reason in addition to the principal reason, but only nine participants pointed out a third reason. As the number of respondents who provided third reasons is negligible compared with the total number of participants, the third reasons are not presented in Table 5.1.

Recording multiple reasons has not only presented the combination of notable factors that influence people to migrate, but also helped to build up the perception of push and pull factors. In considering the principal reasons, the general proposition appears that migrants under push factors were more likely to provide a second reason in the form of another push factor compared to pulled migrants. Thus, the secondary reasons show a similar distribution to the principal reasons. For instance, of respondents who mentioned unemployment as the principal reason, more than 64 per cent of them cited a secondary reason and among these secondary reasons, more than 68 per cent reported destitution and landlessness together. On the other hand, only one respondent in the hunting for jobs category mentioned a secondary reason and that was relatives' persuasion, another form of pull factor. Therefore, the second

reasons along with the principal reasons have emphasized the stressed conditions of respondents, driving them from their villages. This pattern of migration is often termed 'migration of despair', when people leave their native village without any clear objectives as the rural environment offers nothing but starvation (Jacoby 1971 cited in Connell et al. 1976:27). On the other hand, pull factors are very objective-oriented and thus these factors are unlikely to be supplemented by a secondary reason.

Table-5.1: Percentage distribution of reported reasons given by household heads for migration by the order of importance

Classifications of reasons		Order of importance	
		Principal	Secondary
Push factors			
Economic			
	Destitution	38.1	36.6
	Unemployment	12.8	16.3
	Failure in business	7.0	1.3
	Landlessness	6.3	11.1
	Indebtedness	2.6	6.5
Social			
	Family conflict	4.8	2.0
	Dacoity (robbery)	0.2	1.3
Physical			
	River erosion	4.6	3.9
Pull factors			
Economic			
	Hunting for jobs	6.3	15.7
	Earning more	2.0	2.0
Social			
	Relatives' persuasion	3.3	2.6
	Marriage	0.7	-
	Better life	0.9	0.7
Parental decision[a]			
	Came with parents	10.7	-
Number in sample		460	153

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: [a] A total of 49 respondents stated that they were brought to Dhaka by their parents at their childhood, and therefore, parental decision was recorded as the principal reason. As these respondents were not directly involved in the decision of migration, they are generally excluded from the following analysis of this chapter unless it is specified.

As can be seen from the principal reasons in Table 5.1, both the rural push and urban pull factors have influenced the migrants to move to Dhaka, but economic push factors have played the dominant role in the migration decision and among them destitution has been the most dominant factor. In general, survival considerations are apparent to be the primary problems for migration. This finding is not something unexpected as similar types of factors were found in many rural-urban studies elsewhere such as in India and Indonesia

(Hugo 1975:458; Oberai and Singh 1983:87; Yadava 1989:81). In the case of this research, a relatively higher percentage (overall nearly 85 per cent[58]) of rural push factors has been found compared to those studies due to the simple fact that the target population of this research is poor migrants living in *basti*. In a study on poor migrants in Tehran, Kazemi (1980:44) also discovered that about 85 per cent of migrants left their villages because of unemployment and meagre income. It should be noted here that among push factors, family conflict pushed 4.8 per cent of the respondents to move. Xaxa (1986 cited in Yadava 1989:80) found that conflict in the family was one of the major reasons for migration in India.

With regard to pull factors, Table 5.1 reveals that 6.3 per cent of migrants were attracted by the employment opportunities as they migrated to hunt for jobs, indicating that economic considerations were the particular motives in pull factors. Apart from the economic factor, family relationship played a significant role in pulling migrants from their places of origin, as 3.3 per cent of household heads (HHs) were persuaded by their relatives already living in Dhaka. However, it is reasonable to argue that nearly 9 per cent of respondents were mainly attracted by the urban economic opportunities. More importantly, these pulled migrants had more specific objectives than pushed migrants who were pushed from their places of origin mainly due to the incapability of meeting the very basic needs of the family. Now the forgoing section examines whether the principal reasons for migration to Dhaka differ among the three *basti*.

It can be seen from the distribution of principal reasons in Table 5.2 that there are differences in reported principal reasons between the three *basti,* but striking differences are observed between Jhilpar and the other two *basti* in the case of both push and pull factors. The proportion of respondents who migrated due to destitution is lower in Jhilpar, but higher in the other two *basti* than the average. In contrast, Jhilpar has a higher proportion of respondents who were attracted by the economic opportunities in Dhaka than the other two *basti*. It is interesting to note that the influence of social reasons is almost static between the communities in both pull and push factors. The Chi square test confirms a significant variation in the distribution of principal reasons amongst the three *basti* at less

[58]The last category 'parental decision' has been excluded in this calculation, as it is presented in Table 5.2.

than 5 per cent level although Cramer's test indicates only a weak (V=0.18) association between these principal reasons and communities. Nonetheless, Jhilpar *basti* clearly differs from the other two *basti*, and this variation is probably due to the impact of the period of migration, as Jhilpar comprises more recent migrants than the other two. In this regard, when the period of migration is controlled, the variation in principal reasons[59] between *basti* becomes relatively small and it is not statistically significant at 5 per cent level. This result confirms that differences in principal reasons among the three groups of migrants are partially associated with the time of migration, accepting the fact that there is about 9 per cent out-movement from *basti* and this movement largely takes place between the *basti* as discussed in Section 3.3.

Table-5.2: Reported principal reasons given by household heads for moving to Dhaka by three *basti* (in percentage)

Classification of reasons	Name of *basti*			All
	Bangabandhu	Daroger tak	Jhilpar	
Push factors				
Destitution	46.4	50.8	36.2	42.6
Unemployment	14.3	12.5	15.5	14.4
Failure in business	6.0	5.0	10.1	7.8
Landlessness	6.0	6.7	7.7	7.1
Indebted	3.6	3.3	2.4	2.9
Family/social problems[a]	6.0	6.7	4.8	5.6
River erosion	9.5	3.3	4.3	5.1
Pull factors				
Economic opportunities[a]	3.6	4.2	14.5	9.2
Social perspective[a]	4.8	7.5	4.3	5.4
Number in sample	84	120	207	411

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: [a] Categories of social groups in Table 5.1 have been merged together in the case of both push and pull factors. Similarly, categories of economic group under pull factors have been recoded together.

Statistic: Cramer's V = 0.18 and P <0.05

It is not unusual that the reasons for migration change with time as people's demands or needs are more likely to depend on the changing socio-economic conditions of both the rural and urban ends. But the question is how this change has occurred in Bangladesh, and in this regard some plausible explanations can be drawn. First, after the War of Liberation in 1971, the country's fragile economic conditions, the various natural calamities in the mid-1970s (such as the famine and flood), the government's inefficient administrative

[59] For statistical purposes apart from destitution, all other categories under the push factors recoded together as 'other push factors' and similarly, all categories under the pull factors recoded together as 'pull factors'. In this recode, it should be noted that these three new recoded categories of principal reasons still show a similar result to Table 5.2.

apparatus, the violent political change-over and the new socio-political elite together disrupted and destabilized the social conditions, making it difficult for the rural poor to survive. Subsequently, these rural poor were pushed from their villages to find shelter and food or rationing mainly destined for five major cities including Dhaka. (Choguill 1987:19; Hossain 1987:16-17; Chaudhury, 1980 cited in Mondal 1988:9; Rahman 2001:51). Elsewhere, natural disasters such as droughts and flood in Africa and India made rural dwellers abandon their homes and seek relief in urban areas. Many of them stayed on in the destination even after the drought and flood had ended. Political actions (often termed political disasters) have also increased the severity of these natural disasters and the impact on the affected population (Dasgupta 1982:12; Gugler 1982:56).

Second, various efforts were undertaken for both rural and urban development at the end of the 1970s. In particular, the economic development of Dhaka has been discussed in Section 1.1, in which the developments of secondary sectors particularly the expansion of the garment industry have been highlighted. At the rural end, in the wake of the famine and flood in the 1970s, development acquired a new dimension for production with other facets of social life such as health and education (Mondal 1988:4-5). Particularly micro credit programs for the targeted rural poor by NGOs brought about a fundamental change in rural development. In addition, the Food for Work Program was initiated by the government for the rural poor (Mondal 1988:5). Moreover, the demographic transition during the last quarter of the twentieth century through the family planning program is considered to have contributed significantly in the overall development of the country as the population growth rapidly declined from 2.9 per cent in 1974-1981 to 2 per cent in 1981-1991 followed by a further decline to about 1.7 per cent in the late 1990s (BIDS 2001:45; Khan and Sen 2001:2). For instance, the Household Expenditure Survey (HES) shows that per capita food (rice and wheat) consumption in Bangladesh increased continuously: from 439 gm/person/day in 1973-1974 to 509 gm/person/day in 1991-1992 (BIDS 2001:45). Similarly, the growth in per capita income was much higher in the 1980s than in the 1970s, and the annual rate of increase in per capita GDP doubled from 1.5 per cent to about 3 per cent from the late 1970s to the late 1990s (Khan and Sen 2001:2).

The above explanations definitely do not imply that all these developments have carried the full potential for poverty alleviating action that has changed the propensity of migration.

Rather such a perception indicates a whole new arena for development actions, which might have the economic and social effects of improving the livelihoods of the rural poor and their demands or needs. These two explanations indicate that during the period of the 1970s people migrated to Dhaka mainly because of destitution, but after that period, people's motives for migration have changed due to the developments that have been taken place throughout the country. Hence, Jhilpar shows a different pattern of reasons (less destitution but higher pull factors) from other communities as Jhilpar comprises 82 per cent of recent migrants while, in contrast, more than 44 per cent of respondents are long-term migrants in other two communities. While the motives of movement vary among the communities, it becomes important to examine how these communities differ according to the migration process in relation to these immediate reasons. More differentials, therefore, need to be explored, which will be done in the following four sections.

5.4 *Selectivity of movement*

Migration is said to be a selective process in terms of the composition of migrants, although their characteristics such as age, sex, education, economic and social standing vary widely according to the type of migratory movement (Dasgupta 1982:35). Similarly, the socio-economic conditions of origin and destination can affect the composition of migrants as Oberai and Singh (1983:51) have argued that a given set of opportunities might induce a different amount of migration in populations of different composition. Therefore, the present section examines the pre-migration characteristics of migrants in terms of their age at migration, sex, educational attainment, previous labour force status and asset-holding status in the place of origin and allows detailed investigation of the differences that exist between the migrants prior to their arrival in Dhaka. In other words, this section focuses on two vital questions in regard to rural-urban migration: who migrates and how do they differ among themselves?

Table-5.3: Percentage distribution of household heads by pre-migration characteristics and three *basti*

Characteristics	Name of *basti*			All
	Bangabandhu	Daroger tak	Jhilpar	
Age (V = 0.14 ns)				
Less than 15	16.7	16.7	7.7	12.2
15-19	17.9	18.3	21.3	19.7
20-24	17.9	20.0	18.8	19.0
25-29	15.5	12.5	15.5	14.6
30-34	8.3	11.7	11.6	10.9
35-39	13.1	12.5	9.2	10.9
40-44	3.6	3.3	8.7	6.1
45+	7.1	5.0	7.2	6.6
Sex (V=0.17**)				
Male	73.8	80.8	89.4	83.7
Female	26.2	19.2	10.6	16.3
Educational level (V=0.16**)				
Never attended	56.0	62.5	40.6	50.1
Class I-V	29.8	20.0	35.3	29.7
Class VI-X	14.3	14.2	17.9	16.1
SSC and above	-	3.3	6.3	4.1
Labour force participation (V=0.24***)				
Employed				
Cultivator	27.4	19.2	25.6	24.1
Business	11.9	9.2	16.4	13.4
Labourer	17.9	15.0	13.5	14.8
Weaver	-	15.8	4.8	7.1
Rickshaw puller	4.8	3.3	6.3	5.1
Other activities	4.8	7.5	8.7	7.5
Not in labour force				
Housewife	14.3	9.2	5.8	8.5
Student	4.8	5.8	11.1	8.3
Children (<14 yrs)	6.0	3.3	0.5	2.4
Unemployed	8.3	11.7	7.2	8.8
Asset-holding status in origin (V=0.19***)				
Yes				
Homestead	31.0	25.0	34.8	31.1
Land	1.2	6.7	2.9	3.6
Both	15.5	18.3	32.4	24.8
Assetless	52.4	50.0	30.0	40.4
Number in sample	84	120	207	411

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: a) This analysis does not include 49 migrants who were brought by their parents.
b) **, *** and ns indicate P<0.01, P<0.001 and Not significant (P>0.05) respectively.

Age

A well known feature of migration is its age selectivity (Goldstein et al. 1974:11; Piampiti 1984:230). As most *basti* dwellers are illiterate or not well educated, it is no surprise that they are generally ignorant of their exact age and particularly the age when they migrated. Taking this reality into account, respondents were not asked about their age at the time of

migration. Rather, they were asked about their current age and how long they had been living in Dhaka since migration. Then, the latter figure has been deducted from the former in order to calculate the age at migration. Table 5.3 indicates that, overall, young people have constituted the largest proportion of migrants, and specifically a little over 50 per cent of HHs were aged less than 25 at the time of migration, which reveals a typical characteristic of migrants similar to other studies in developing countries (Caldwell 1969:84; Kothari 1980:162; Tana 1996:26; Todaro 1997:28).

However, the distribution of age at migration does not vary substantially between the three communities except that Jhilpar has a little older aged pattern compared to the other two *basti*, although this variation is not statistically significant (P>0.05). This pattern of age distribution persists when the period of migration is controlled in this bivariate analysis, suggesting that the age (at migration) of the recent and long-term migrants did not vary over time across the three communities. However, the slightly older aged pattern in Jhilpar might be associated with the respondents' other characteristics, which can be found in the following subsections.

Sex

Table 5.3 shows that HHs are predominantly male (on average 83.7 per cent), and this has been a common pattern of migrants in developing countries (Caldwell 1969:58; Connell et al. 1976:45). A substantial differentiation is found in the distribution of respondents' sex among the three communities, where Jhilpar has the highest proportion of male heads followed by Daroger tak and Bangabandhu. The Chi square test also supports this significant variation in sex at the one per cent level despite a weak (V=0.17) association between HHs' sex and communities. This result primarily signifies the deep-rooted traditional gender-based family organizations in Bangladesh, where male members are generally referred as HHs. Even when women migrate with their family but without adult males (e.g. husband), it is very difficult for women to live independently in *basti* due to the physical insecurity. Therefore, women migrants are likely to live with some relatives upon arrival.

Moreover, this observed variation in sex between the communities seems to be associated with the duration of migration, as the mean of length of respondents' stay in Dhaka increases, the proportion of female heads increases as well (because the mean of length of stay is highest in Bangabandhu and lowest in Jhilpar). In this regard, the plausible explanation is that with time women, who migrated without adult males, might establish themselves in *basti* in many ways, for instances when their children become adult. In some cases, women become heads because of their husband's death or divorce or even the husband's long-term absence. Data reveal that among female heads, 45 per cent were either widowed or divorced/separated. After controlling for the period of migration, the pattern of distribution almost exists among long-term migrants but the variation becomes smaller among recent migrants, and in both cases, differences are not statistically significant at the 5 per cent level. This result confirms that the status of HHs according to sex is affected by the duration of migration.

However, the sex ratio of HHs in Table 5.3 might undervalue the role of women in the process of migration. Participant observation and qualitative data from focus group discussions (FGDs) and life histories (LHs) show that when some families migrate to Dhaka, they consider the job potential of their female members, but these members may not be HHs. A recent study shows that 44 per cent of male-headed households in *basti* received income from adult female workers (Salway et al. 2003:896). This type of migration is very close to Todaro (1997:29)'s 'associational migration'. Data show that almost one in every two households has a garment worker, and among them 73.6 per cent are females. On the other hand, some females, particularly young girls, have migrated alone to Dhaka for work, what Todaro (1997:29) calls 'the migration of unattached women', and these women are largely living in messes of *basti* as noted in Section 4.3.1. The result, therefore, may not show the sex selectivity of *basti* migration properly. Rather, it shows the heterogeneity of the sex ratio in the migrant households among the three *basti*.

Education

Most rural-urban studies in the developing countries report that there is a strong propensity for educated people to migrate (Kazemi 1980:30; Kothari 1980:176). As this research is

concerned with the poor section of the population, the educational levels[60] are expected to be low compared to the overall urban population. With this expectation, Table 5.3 shows that overall half of the respondents have never attended school and only a small proportion (4.1 per cent) have completed the Secondary School Certificate (SSC) or higher education, whereas the corresponding national figures were 40.4 and 7.7 per cent respectively in 1995-1996 (BBS 1996:21). The contingency table shows a variation in educational attainment among the three *basti*, and the statistical tests indicate a weak (V=0.16) but significant (P<0.01) association between the level of respondents' educational attainment and communities. It is interesting to note that while Bangabandhu *basti* does not have a single respondent who passed SSC, more than 6 per cent of respondents of Jhilpar have SSC or higher education. This finding provides some evidence to support the earlier finding in the discussion of age that age at migration in Jhilpar is relatively older than the other two *basti.* As formal education consumes time to attain, Jhilpar has shown a relative older aged pattern than the other two communities.

When only the recent migrants of all three communities are considered, the variation in educational attainment between the communities still holds at less than 5 per cent level, but this variation does not exist statistically in the case of the long-term migrants. In latter case, no significant variation is found because of the poor education facilities after the Independence and that rural uneducated poor migrated to *basti* only to survive as explained in Section 5.3. On the other hand, Bangladesh has made a considerable progress in expanding basic education in recent years. For instance, the gross enrolment in primary schools has increased from 59 per cent in 1982 to 96 in 1999, and the secondary school enrolment over the same period has increased from 21 to 41 per cent (BIDS 2001:83). As a result, differences in educational attainment of recent migrants are likely to appear among the three communities, and in this case, Jhilpar has gained relatively more educated

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[60]It should be kept in mind that Table 5.3 does not tell us the place in terms of origin or destinations, in which the education was received. Respondents were asked about their current educational levels, and these levels are assumed their attainment at the time of migration. The simple reason for this assumption is that no respondents reported education as a purpose for migration, and similarly no evidence was found through the qualitative data that a household head has attained a formal education in Dhaka. In addition, no other surveys (BBS 1989: 32; 1999b: 35; Begum 1999: 98-99) on *basti* in Dhaka have found achieving education is a reason for migration. Exceptionally a survey on floating population in Dhaka found that a negligible 0.05 per cent of respondents reported education as a cause of migration (BBS 1988: 18).

migrants than other two communities due to the largest concentration of recent migrants in Jhilpar.

Previous labour force participation

Migration is selective of certain occupations, and the significance of the examination of pre-migration labour force participation may show whether migrants were better themselves occupationally (Singh 1986:161). Results presented in Table 5.3 reveal that about three-fourths of HHs were in labour force, while the remaining were either unemployed or out of the labour force. Along with housewives and students, there were other respondents belonging to the 'not in labour force' group, and these migrants were less than 14 years old at the time of migration when they neither attended school nor were engaged in any work. They reported that they came to Dhaka to work in their early adolescence with relatives (not parents) or village acquaintances.

The occupational composition of respondents indicates that cultivation was the predominant occupation followed by daily labour and business, and these three occupations show the general occupational feature of rural household heads in Bangladesh according to the HES 1995-96 (BBS 1998:15). Daily labourers are from the most vulnerable section of rural population as they did not have any fixed jobs and their survival depended totally on daily unstable incomes. In contrast, cultivators were engaged in a relatively stable occupation and the simple reason for their movement is believed to be associated with the pressure on the limited land because of the high rate of population growth (Chaudhury 1981 cited in Nabi 1992:89). A significant proportion of respondents were petty businessmen who migrated mainly after losing their capital. Similarly, along with rickshaw pullers other non-agricultural artisans (noted as other activities) such as carpenter and mason migrated with the hope that their skill based jobs can be found in the city. It is important to note that although a considerable proportion of respondents were engaged in weaving, it is not a common occupation in rural areas of Bangladesh.

The contingency table 5.3 shows a substantial variation in the distribution of previous labour force status among the three communities. The Chi square test confirms this variation at less than one per cent level despite a weak strength (V=0.24). However, it can be seen that the category of weavers contributes a large variation between the communities.

These weavers are mainly from Brahminbaria (58.6 per cent) and Comilla (24.1 per cent) districts. As the former district belonged to the latter district until 1982, these data indicate that weavers came from a particular area of the country. These weavers migrated after the collapse of the traditional handloom products because of the introduction of power loom machines. In other words, weavers moved to Dhaka because of the unequal competition between handloom and power loom systems or technological change. The distribution of weavers among the *basti* is an indication of the importance of the place of origin in the community formation, which will be examined further in the following section.

In addition, categories under the 'not in labour force' group show a clear difference in communities, and this difference is partly associated with the influence of the duration of migration. For instance, the proportion of housewives increases according to the mean of length of residence in Dhaka, and it has been discussed earlier that with time some housewives have become widowed and divorced/separated, and subsequently, they are treated as HHs. Similarly, children (<14 yrs) who migrated during 1970s and 80s are more likely to have established themselves as heads of their households, and that is why the proportion of children is higher in Daroger tak and Bangabandhu comprising longer-term migrants than Jhilpar. In contrast, the higher proportion of students in Jhilpar compared to the other two communities once again indicates relatively better-educated migrants in this community as found earlier. Finally, the previous occupations represent a section of common rural HHs, and the differentiation in previous labour force participation status among the three communities appears to be due mainly to the respondents who were not in the labour force along with weavers. However, no community indicates a clearly different pattern of previous labour force participation status.

Asset-holding status in the place of origin

Perhaps one of the most important determinants of rural-urban migration to be considered is the status of ownership of any assets in the place of origin. Respondents were asked about the types of their current assets at the place of origin and whether they owned any land, and if so, how much land and where. Data on types of assets[61] are presented in Table

[61] Respondents were asked to provide information about the types of their current assets. Therefore, it might be argued that whether the reported information can be considered as the status at the time of migration, since it might be the case that some migrants have already sold out or improved their properties after migration.

5.3 because these data provide a more realistic picture of migrants' economic and social standing in the village than the land-holding status. In addition, the land ownership gives a jagged picture as the units of measurement vary m one region to another in Bangladesh. Nonetheless, information on land ownership was collected to check whether respondents possessed land elsewhere other than origin, and in this regard, data show that almost 100 per cent of landowners possess their land at origin.

Data on the asset-holding status presented in Table 5.3 reveals that about two-fifths of the migrants were rootless in their origin, as they did not posses any assets, while the remaining have either homestead or land (mainly cultivated) or both. A cross-examination between the types of assets and land-holding status indicates that the landlessness is synonymous with assetless and similarly, amount of land ownership depends on the types of asset-holding status. For instance, 42.4 per cent of respondents are found landless compared to 40.4 per cent of respondents who are assetless (Table 5.3). Similarly, 33.6 per cent of respondents have less than 20 decimals of land and 79.4 per cent of them possess either homestead or land but not both, while 72.5 per cent of respondents who own both land and homestead have more than 20 decimals of land. In this regard, a recent study on internal migration in three developing countries including Bangladesh found that the lack of land or other assets was an important determinant of migration, but the migrants were not the poorest because often they possessed land, particularly in the case of Bangladesh (Haan et al. 2000:17). However, the contingency table presents a large variation in the distribution of household asset-holding status between the communities, and the statistical test shows this variation is significant at zero per cent level despite a weak association (V=0.19). In particular, households of Jhilpar show a better asset-holding status than that of other communities. This finding can be considered consistent with the better level of HHs' educational attainment in Jhilpar since it is fairly argued that the poorest sector of village population cannot afford the long period of school education (Hugo 1978:191).

The general social norms suggest that the first case is very unlikely because people generally do not want to sell at least their homestead due to the respect to their predecessors. The second case might occur, but the probability depends on the success in Dhaka. If it takes place, it should be very few cases as these possibilities were examined through qualitative data during the survey and discovered by Caldwell in an African study (Caldwell 1969: 146).

Summary

It is apparent that migration into *basti* has been a selective process as young, male, illiterate, and assetless rural people have dominated this process. However, the statistical analysis reveals that characteristics (apart from age) of HHs vary significantly among themselves according to the three communities. In particular, respondents of Jhilpar have shown a different pattern of characteristics from respondents of other communities, excepting the previous labour force participation status. It is evident that Jhilpar HHs are relatively more mature, educated and asset-holding compared to other communities. In addition, the analysis suggests that the variation in migrants' pre-migration characteristics between the three communities is partly associated with the period of migration. Finally, these results suggest that the heads of the migrant household in Jhilpar are more 'advanced' or 'better off'[62] than the other two *basti* in terms of their pre-migration characteristics.

5.5 *Patterns of movement*

This section investigates some major patterns of population movements and to what extent these patterns vary among the respondents. Attention is given to both the spatial and demographic dimensions of movement, and therefore, the present section examines five variables measuring the five dimensions of movement namely rural-urban migration, places of origin of migrants, direct migration, prior visit to Dhaka and the status of family involvement at the initial stage of migration.

Rural-urban migration

Basis on the previous studies in Bangladesh and elsewhere (Ahsanullah et al. 1999; Begum 1999; Desai 1995; Kazemi 1980; Paul-Majumder et al. 1996), the stream of movement of this research has already been referred to as rural-urban migration from the earlier discussion. The present data on the classification of origin and destination confirm that the migration stream towards the *basti* is dominated by rural-urban movements. It can be seen from Table 5.4 that a little over 90 per cent of respondents are from rural areas and this proportion has been almost static among the three communities ($P>0.05$). Similarly, the cross-tabulation between this migration stream and the migration duration of respondents

[62] It should be noted here that better off (or advanced) is a relative term specific to the rural or *basti* context. Therefore, migrants who are better off in the *basti* should not be considered so in comparison with the overall urban population.

shows that the migration stream does not vary between the recent and long-term migrants. However, these results do not imply that rural people are only heading to Dhaka or other cities as the spatial pattern of movement in Bangladesh is still largely dominated by rural to rural migration (Nabi 1992:96). Nonetheless, given the emphasis on the total *basti* population in Dhaka, discussed in Section 3.1, these results indicate the significance of the volume of rural poor in the formation of *basti* communities in Dhaka.

Table-5.4: Percentage distribution of household heads by their patterns of movement and three *basti*

Variables and categories	Name of *basti*			All
	Bangabandhu	Daroger tak	Jhilpar	
Rural-urban migration (V = 0.08 ^{ns})				
Yes	90.5	95.0	90.3	91.7
No	9.5	5.0	9.7	8.3
Places of origin (V = 0.48***)				
Barisal division				
Barisal	6.0	5.8	16.4	11.2
Barguna	1.2	0.8	17.9	9.5
Patuakhali	7.1	4.2	4.8	5.1
Others	6.0	1.7	4.8	4.1
Dhaka division				
Madaripur	11.9	16.7	0.5	7.5
Shariatpur	10.7	5.0	1.9	4.6
Mymensingh	7.1	0.1	6.8	5.1
Sherpur	2.4	-	14.5	7.8
Others	15.5	11.7	14.0	13.6
Chittagong division				
Comilla	10.7	16.7	4.3	9.2
Brahminbaria	1.2	30.0	6.3	12.2
Others	8.3	1.7	2.4	3.4
Remaining three divisions (Rajshahi, Khulna & Sylhet)	11.9	5.0	5.3	6.6
Direct migration (V = 0.05 ^{ns})				
Yes	90.5	94.2	91.8	92.2
No	9.5	5.8	8.2	7.8
Prior visit to Dhaka (V = 0.05 ^{ns})				
Yes	44.0	39.2	37.2	39.2
No	56.0	60.8	62.8	60.8
Initially family migration (V = 0.16**)				
Yes, with family	52.4	66.7	48.3	54.5
No, alone	47.6	33.3	51.7	45.5
Number in sample	84	120	207	411

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: a) This analysis does not include 49 migrants who were brought by their parents.
b) **, *** and ns indicate P<0.01, P<0.001 and Not significant (P>0.05) respectively.

Places of origin of migrants

Data on the origin of respondents documented in Table 5.4 indicate that, in general, the place of origin is dominated by nine districts from three divisions[63]. There are some variations in the distribution of the places of origin across the three communities, and the Chi square test shows this variation is significant at less than one per cent level. Some studies (Ahsanullah et al. 1999:25; BBS 1989:52; Paul-Majumder et al. 1996:8) have found that *basti* tended to be selective in drawing rural people from particular districts, such as Comilla, Dhaka, Faridpur, Barisal, Patuakhali, Noakhali, Jamalpur and Mymensingh. Under the decentralization policy in 1982, a total of 43 new districts were set up in addition to the former 21 districts, and if the units of former greater districts are taken into account (for instance, Brahminbaria with Comilla), the present data support previous research findings. Even in considering the total internal migration in Bangladesh, it was discovered that out of 21 former greater districts, Noakhali, Faridpur, Comilla and Barisal experienced a relatively high rate of out-migration (Nabi 1992:85). In the case of this research, the introduction of new upgraded districts reveals a more acute spatial pattern of movements. Moreover, when the places of origin are compared between the recent and old migrants, it is found that these are the main districts, which sent most migrants throughout the last three decades. It seems that the spatial migration stream in terms of respondents' origin has been highly selective with some variations in the formation of *basti* communities in Dhaka.

Now an immediate relevant question arises here: why is this migration stream so selective? There are some arguments for this selectivity; for example, *basti* dwellers are from the poorest or densely populated areas, pushing the surplus labour force to Dhaka (Ahsanullah et al. 1999:25; Paul-Majumder et al. 1996:8). It is hard to verify these arguments however because of the unavailability of disaggregated data on regional variations. Nonetheless, the aggregate data on the incidence of poverty do not support the argument that people are migrating from the poorest areas, as it is observed that the incidence of poverty[64] in Barisal (43.9 per cent) and Rajshahi (41.6 per cent) division is higher than that of the other four[65] divisions (BBS 1998:60). Moreover, in considering human development, Rajshahi division

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[63] Currently there are a total of 64 districts under six divisions in Bagladesh.
[64] The measurement of poverty is the cost-of-basic-needs (CBN) method and the data presented here for the lower poverty line.
[65] At the time of this survey, the new division Sylhet was not formed. Thus it was attached with Chittagong division.

has the lowest level of adult literacy, life expectancy and child immunization rate compared to the other five divisions (BIDS 2001:33). But the representation of Rajshahi division in Dhaka's *basti* is negligible. Furthermore, a disaggregate analysis shows that Bagerhat district of Khulna division has the lowest (1819 Kcal/per day) calorie intake compared to the average intake of 2158 Kcal/ per day (BIDS 2001:46), but no study has found a considerable proportion of migrants from Bagerhat in Dhaka's *basti*. In this regard, it might be argued that the poor of these two divisions concentrate their migration on their district or divisional cities, but as can be seen from Figure 4.1, the concentration of *basti* settlements in these two divisions are not significant.

On the other hand, if data on population density for divisions (BBS 2001: 5) and data on migrants' places of origin in Table 5.4 are compared, the result does not demonstrate any clear-cut relation between the densely populated divisions and the representation of migrants from those divisions. Even if population density is calculated according to districts from the last Population Census in 2001, results only partially support that people migrate from the more densely settled areas. The calculation shows that some well-documented districts of out-migrants such as Barguna, Barisal, Patuakhali, Madaripur and Shariatpur have either lesser or closer population density compared to the national figure of 834 per Sq Km. In contrast, having a density of more than 1000 per Sq Km, some districts such as Rangpur, Kushtia, and Sirajgonj represent a negligible proportion of migrants in *basti*. However, in the cases of Comilla and Brahminbaria districts, two of the most populated areas in the country, their representation in Dhaka's *basti* is significantly higher as found in every study.

Having presented the above analysis, this research does not deny the basic assumption that rural-urban migration in developing countries is likely to be accelerated by the poverty or population pressure in rural areas. Rather it signifies the diversity of migration behaviour of rural poor, and argues that living in *basti* is partly related to social and cultural practices, which vary from region to region. In other words, it can be argued that, like another study (Haan et al. 2000:1), migration is not an atomistic reaction to economic or environmental pressure, but it is also embedded in societal rules and norms. The general impression gained from the participant observation and informal discussion with poor migrants from

Rajshahi division[66] suggests that migrants from that region are mainly from the river-erosion belts of Gaibandha and Kurigram districts. These migrants do not intend to settle in a *basti* as they have a strong social belief that the *basti* is not a good place to live with family. One rickshaw puller from Gaibandha district, aged 47, who arrived in Dhaka only four days before the interview when he was asked on whether he is going to bring his family said:

> No, I will not bring my family to Dhaka because I will not be able to rent a house (in *mahalla*) with my income. --- as heard that the environment of *basti* is horrible, I cannot live in *basti* with my wife and daughters.

According to these respondents, people from Rajshahi division migrate to Dhaka leaving their families in the village, staying in messes, and visiting their families regularly. On the other hand, migrants from other dominant districts noted in Table 5.4 are more adaptable with the new reality of *basti* environment and this approach of easy adjustment is probably influenced by their relatives or village acquaintances who are already in Dhaka's *basti*. Hence, it can be concluded that *basti* migration is partly associated with migrants' adaptation behaviour, which varies region to region in Bangladesh because of people's socio-cultural understanding about living in *basti*.

Direct migration

This sub-section examines another spatial dimension of movement, which reveals whether the pattern of movement towards *basti* has been a direct migration or gradual (multi-step) migration process from the place of origin. Table 5.4 indicates that more than 90 per cent of respondents migrated to Dhaka directly from their places of origin, instead of first migrating from the village to the district or any nearby town and then to the capital city. This direct pattern contradicts Ravenstein's laws that migration occurs first from rural to nearby small towns and thence to larger cities, mentioned in Section 2.1. In recent decades, particularly in developing countries, the general pattern of migration has been that migrants

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[66] During the fieldwork I met a number of rickshaw pullers due to the fact that rickshaw pulling was the main transportation for travelling to study areas. A total of five rickshaw pullers, who were from Rajshahi division, were selected purposively only to examine the reasons for migration from the Rajshahi division and their low represetation in *basti*, One of them lived in a *basti* and other four live in messes/boarding house located in *mahalla*.

travel directly to the largest urban centres without stopping at an intermediate city (Kothari 1980:150; Savasdisara 1983:31).

Also, there is no significant difference in this dimension of movement across the three communities. Two features can be drawn from these results. First, this dominant direct migration largely shows the desperation of migrants to move for survival. Second, this desperation also partly reflects the choice of destination, which is likely to be determined by the collective judgments about the prospects of employment in Dhaka. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that this 'one step' migration pattern is an innovative migratory process in which rural poor are heading directly to the most prosperous urban centre with the hope of an immediate change in their lives.

Prior visit to Dhaka

The innovative migration approach can be better explained by analyzing the data on prior visits to the destination before migration. Prior visits can be made due to different reasons such as economic, social and cultural. In the case of this research, any prior visit is considered as a means of searching out information concerning probable opportunities in the destination. Data in Table 5.4 show that only two-fifths of the respondents had prior experiences in visiting Dhaka, whereas the majority (60.8 per cent) moved to Dhaka for the first time. Therefore, the pattern of spatial movement has not only been a 'one step approach', but it is also characterized by a 'first movement approach' to the destination. Hugo (1978:155-156) found that rural-urban migration accounted for a substantially greater number of first moves than of all moves, and many of such moves were associated with graduation to an education institution not provided locally. The first move of the present research is an inductive movement related to the necessity of migration for survival because the decision was made by certain images of Dhaka on the basis of 'hearsay' or 'myths' rather than actual experiences. This result implies another good indication of the desperation of migration, and this form of movement has been a common pattern within the poor migrants around the Third World (Kazemi 1980:44).

No statistical differences are found in the distribution of prior visits among the respondents of the three communities. When the period of migration is controlled, a pattern of distribution exists between the recent and old migrants, with the recent migrants of the

three communities showing a higher proportion of prior visits compared to long-term migrants. This variation between the recent and long-term migrants is probably associated with the advancement of recent migrants discussed in the previous section. In this regard, a cross-tabulation between the prior visits and educational level has been carried out, and the distribution shows that as educational level increases, the proportion having prior visits increases although this relationship is not statistically significant at less than 5 per cent level.

Initially family migration

While the spatial dimension of movement shows a direct migration, the demographic dimension of movement can supplement in explaining the pattern of one-step migration in terms of individual or family migration. Family life cycle stages of migration are not precisely defined for developing countries, and thus, stages are variously referred to as commuting, circular, individual, seasonal, or permanent in the literature (Hugo 1978:98; Kuhn 2000:1; Root and De Jong 1990:2, 5). In this research, demographic dimensions of step migration are analyzed based on initial movements of respondents to Dhaka and solely restricted to the individual vs. family typology. Table 5.4 reveals that overall 54.5 per cent of HHs initially migrated to Dhaka along with their families[67] and the remaining heads migrated individually. Of those who migrated individually, one-third of them married in Dhaka, a negligible proportion (0.07) of them are still alone and the remaining migrants took different periods of time to bring their families to Dhaka.

However, the Chi-square test gives a significant ($P<0.01$) variation in the distribution of family vs individual movements across the three communities. It can be seen from the distribution that family migration is substantially higher in Daroger tak than in the other two *basti*. If the duration of migration is controlled in this binary analysis, the pattern of this distribution varies between recent and long-term migrants, suggesting that the pattern of family vs individual migration has been influenced by the period of migration. The distribution shows that family migration is higher among recent migrants than among long-terms migrants, and this is true for all three communities. This higher level of family

[67] A family means the Bengali stereotype structure including the couple, their children and dependents such as parents, brother and sisters. Only five respondents reported that they migrated with their brothers and sisters, and thus these cases were included in the family group.

migration among the recent migrants can be explained by the new economics theory of migration by Massey et al., noted in Section 2.1, as they argue that through family migration, people try to maximize their economic well-being by diversifying the allocation of household resources, such as family labour. In this regard, qualitative data show that some rural people migrated to Dhaka not taking into account their own potential, but considering the working age cohorts of their young household members as observed in two LHs of very recent migrants. These two respondents, both are male (aged 45 and 47 years) and living in Daroger tak and Jhilpar, were unemployed in Dhaka, but their sons/daughters were working in the garment industry and in shops.

Nonetheless, as no variable has substantially differentiated Daroger tak from the other two communities in the previous analysis of this section, such a significant difference in family migration patterns between Daroger tak and the other two communities might be associated with other factors such as the rural-urban social networks, which will be examined in the following section.

Summary

It is apparent that the patterns of *basti* migration have been characterized as rural-urban, one-step, and without paying a prior visit. Moreover, these patterns of movement do not vary among the three communities. These findings are an indication of the desperation of migration towards Dhaka city, which is believed to provide substantial opportunities for survival, as most district towns are economically stagnant as mentioned in Section 1.1. On the other hand, although the district of origins varies in the formation of the three communities, the overall migration stream towards *basti* is still dominated by some particular districts, and this domination is partly influenced by the socio-cultural understanding about living in *basti*, which varies from region to region. In considering the pattern of family migration, although family migration has been found to be higher among the recent migrants than long-term migrants, this type of migration is probably influenced by social networks. In general, however, it can be concluded that the patterns of movement do not vary substantially among the three communities because of the desperative nature of migration and the extent to which it varies results from the differences in socio-cultural understandings of migrants.

5.6 *Rural-urban control subsystems*

Having analyzed the patterns of movement in the previous section, attention is now focused on rural and urban control subsystems, more specifically the interpersonal kinship and friendship connections at rural and urban ends to unravel the complex motivational factors, which might influence the nature and relative intensity of the migration process towards *basti*. A number of rural-urban studies in developing countries have found that social networks have largely assisted both the entry and adjustment to the city of migrants (Caldwell 1969:129; Hugo 1978:262; Kazemi 1980:45; Tana 1996:34). Two basic factors, namely sources of information and the decision to migrate are examined at the rural end to reveal how migrants were informed about migration and who took the migration decision respectively. On the other hand, the informal assistance through social relations given to the newcomers on their arrival becomes an important part of the whole migration process, as this assistance is likely to encourage or discourage the migration process (Caldwell 1969:131; Mabogunje 1970:6). Hence, three more variables, namely initial shelter upon arrival, receive assistance to secure first accommodation and job are framed to examine the influence of the urban end control subsystems on the migration process.

Sources of information

The availability of information concerning a destination plays a prominent role in the decision to move to the destination (Greenwood 1975:405). Data in Table 5.5 demonstrate that nearly 95 per cent of respondents were more or less informed about the possible way of life in Dhaka. The main informants were relatives (44.8 per cent) followed by friends (26.5 per cent), while about 23 per cent of HHs sought information by their own efforts. As this information is received mainly through the family or village community networks, these might continue to provide other help in the early adaptation to Dhaka. These networks are generally considered as the direct extension of the traditional ties in villages (Tana 1996:34) often called 'chain migration'(Caldwell 1969:129; Greenwood 1975:405; Hugo 1978:187; Standing 1984a:52).

The distribution of sources of information shows a large variation among the three communities, and this variation is statistically significant ($P<0.001$) according to the Chi square test despite a low value of Cramer's V (0.19). It can be seen from the distribution that every respondent of Daroger tak had information about Dhaka and about 60 per cent of

them were informed by relatives, while less than 40 per cent of respondents of the other two *basti* received information from their relatives and more than 8 per cent did not have any information. Therefore, it seems that although relatives and friends played a major role in providing information about Dhaka, this role was stronger in Daroger tak than the other two communities.

Table-5.5: The percentage distribution of household heads, receiving assistance through the rural-urban social networks in different stages of the migration process by three *basti*

Variables and categories	Name of *basti*			All
	Bangabandhu	Daroger tak	Jhilpar	
Sources of information (V = 0.19***)				
From relatives	38.1	59.2	39.1	44.8
From friends	19.0	25.0	30.4	26.5
Personal search	34.5	15.8	22.2	22.9
No information	8.3	-	8.2	5.8
Decision to migrate (V = 0.11 ns)				
Fully own decision	56.0	45.8	63.3	56.7
Influenced by relatives	33.3	40.8	27.5	32.6
Influenced by friends	10.7	13.3	9.2	10.7
Initial shelter upon arrival (V = 0.13*)				
Stay with relatives/friends	45.2	62.5	50.2	52.8
Find a shelter somewhere else	54.8	37.5	49.8	47.2
Help find first accommodation (V = 0.12 ns)				
From relatives	45.2	46.7	36.2	41.1
From friends	9.5	19.2	18.4	16.8
Personal search	38.1	32.5	42.0	38.4
Others (lived in work place etc)	7.1	1.7	3.4	3.6
Help find first job (V = 0.10 ns)				
From relatives	28.6	33.3	30.9	31.1
From friends	14.3	20.8	20.8	19.5
Personal search	53.6	45.0	47.8	48.2
Others (do nothing etc)	3.6	0.8	0.5	1.2
Number in sample	84	120	207	411

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: a) This analysis does not include 49 migrants who were brought by their parents.
b) * , *** and ns indicate P<0.05, P<0.001 and Not significant (P>0.05)respectively.
c) Relatives refer family (kinship) relations including family members, and friends usually refer village acquaintances.

Decision to migrate

The decision to migrate is considered as the first stage of the process, and this decision process depends on both individual and family factors (Mehta 1982:27; Yadava 1989:40). Who takes the migration decision is a crucial question in assessing the influence of rural control subsystems including family and village community. It is a fact that most discussions of migration tell us little about who decides on an act of migration (Connell et al.

1976:24). In this study, respondents were asked: did anybody help you in taking the decision to migrate? Responses are presented in Table 5.5 based on three types of decision making units: individual, family and larger than family (village community). The result points out that more than half of the respondents took the decision independently, while about one-third and one-tenth were influenced by their relatives and friends respectively. The contingency table 5.5 reveals that respondents of Daroger tak community were more influenced by their relatives and friends compared to the other two communities, although this variation is not statistically significant.

Initial shelter upon arrival

Upon arrival in the city, the migrants face a whole range of urgent problems, and the first is where they will stay (Caldwell 1969:129). Respondents were asked: on arrival (precisely for the first night) did they first stay with their relatives or friends or stay somewhere else? Data in this regard presented in Table 5.5 specify that about 53 per cent of HHs stayed at first with their relatives or friends, and the remaining HHs arranged their initial shelter somewhere else by their own efforts. Qualitative data from LHs suggest that, in the latter case, migrants normally went to *basti* according to their earlier information received from the village, and thereafter rented a room from a owner with the help of relatives or fellow villagers or even on their own. There is very little evidence from both the quantitative and qualitative data that initially migrants took shelter in the open spaces and gradually moved to *basti*. Only one participant (P2) of the male focus group in Bangabandhu reported that first he took shelter in the Kamalapur railway station and gradually moved to the *basti,* and the important point is that this participant migrated during the crisis in the 1970s. However, the contingency table 5.5 shows that the pattern of arranging initial shelter differs significantly ($P<0.05$) across the three communities and respondents of Daroger tak received more supports from their relatives/ friends at the initial stage of arrival compared to the other two communities.

Help in finding the first accommodation

The preceding sub-section has presented the direct help from relatives or friends received by the migrants in taking shelter at their very initial stage of entry to Dhaka. But it takes time to find suitable accommodation to settle in Dhaka, and in this regard, someone's help may be crucial for newcomers. Therefore, respondents were asked again: upon arrival how

did you secure the first accommodation? Table 5.5 indicates that relatives helped about two-fifths of respondents, and almost the same proportion of respondents secured their accommodation by their own efforts.

But in-depth information from FGDs and LHs suggest that the results in Table 5.5 may underestimate the impact of social relations in the settlement process of newcomers in Dhaka. For instance, two migrants stated in their LHs that they did not receive any help from any one, but acknowledged that they had prior information about their fellow villagers' whereabouts in Dhaka. Relying on this information, they came to the *basti* and rented a room, and they are still living there. In addition, these two participants were living in the dwelling adjacent to their fellow villagers. This evidence signifies an indirect but useful assistance from the fellow villagers in settlements. Similarly, through the participant observation it was found that migrants from one district were likely to confine themselves even in one part of the *basti*. However, the Chi square test shows that there are no significant differences in the proportions of respondents receiving assistance to secure the first accommodation among the three communities.

Help in finding the first job

Given the predominant economic reasons for migration, the assistance provided to newcomers through kinship and friends in finding jobs is also of great importance (Hugo 1978:206). Like the case of securing first accommodation, respondents were asked about assistance for securing the first job. Table 5.5 demonstrates that kinship and friendship relations provided assistance to about half of the respondents in securing the first job, while the remaining half secured their first jobs on their own. It should be noted here that the proportion of respondents receiving assistance in securing the first job (50.6 per cent) is less than that of the respondents in securing the first residence (57.9 per cent). This is not an unexpected result in considering the limitation of the urban poor's ability in helping someone to find a job in Dhaka. Nonetheless, assistance from anyone can help newcomers in an unfamiliar environment in many ways in securing a job. For instance, someone's recommendation as a security helps newcomers to get involved in some activities (e.g. hiring a rickshaw or working in a shop or hotel) as revealed in FGDs. However, the statistical test indicates a non-significant difference in the proportion of assistance received by respondents to secure the first job among the three *basti*.

Summary

The overall analysis suggests that a large proportion of respondents received assistance through their family connections from the rural to urban end in the migration process, while friends also were important sponsors of that process. In examining the chain of networks, a cross-tabulation between the sources of information and decision making units indicates that about 27 per cent of respondents were assisted by their relatives in both getting information and taking the migration decision, and in the case of friends this figure is about 8 per cent. Similarly, three-way cross-tabulations between any three variables among the five variables in Table 5.6 reveal that at least 20 per cent of respondents were assisted in all three stages of the migration process either by their relatives or friends. Therefore, if the combination of assistance provided by both relatives and friends is taken into account, the figure will increase. An immediate question that arises is whether the series of assistance is provided by the same sources? Quantitative data do not answer this question due to the lack of information in this regard, but qualitative data from the FGDs and LHs suggest that movers, who were assisted by their relatives or friends, utilized the same source throughout the migration process. The same source is used to an even greater extent in the case of women, as one participant (P5) of the female focus group in Bangabandhu stated:

> I came with my elder sister who was living in Dhaka. On arrival I stayed with my sister. She gave me a job in a house as a maidservant. I continued that job in staying with my sister's family. After someday, I was married off in my village, and then came back to Dhaka with my husband. Since then, we have been living here.

Finally, it appears that the role of rural-urban social networks in facilitating the migration process did not vary substantially among the three communities except that in some stages, respondents of Daroger tak received more support compared to the other two communities. Due to this stronger support, family migration was found to be higher in Daroger tak than in the other communities mentioned in the previous section. A comparative analysis is carried out between the recent and long-term migrants in each case (variable) of rural-urban control subsystems, and no significant variation is observed among these two groups of migrants, excepting that a higher proportion of recent migrants took the migration decision independently than that of long-term migrants. This difference can be seen as an outcome of the relatively advanced characteristics of recent migrants. However, it can be concluded that the rural-urban informal social networks have helped newcomers almost in the same

way with the exception that respondents of Daroger tak were assisted to a greater extent at some stages of the migration process than the other two communities.

5.7 *Urban-rural links*

This section examines the nature and strength of the links between urban life and the place of origin that are maintained by the migrants. First, family relations between the destination and origin are examined to measure the nature of the link. Second, the strength of this tie is assessed by the degree of return visits, and the flow of remittances from the place of destination to origin.

Table-5.6: The percentage distribution of household head by their nature of relationships with the place of origin and three *basti*

Variables and categories	Name of *basti*			All
	Bangabandhu	Daroger tak	Jhilpar	
Relatives in the place of origin (V = 0.02 ns)				
Yes	92.9	93.3	94.2	93.7
No	7.1	6.7	5.8	6.3
Visiting the origin last 12 months (V = 0.12 ns)				
Yes, once	28.6	17.5	25.6	23.8
Yes, twice	17.9	15.0	18.4	17.3
Yes, more than twice	20.2	41.7	31.9	32.4
No, didn't	33.3	25.8	24.2	26.5
Number in sample	84	120	207	411
Remittances sent to origin (V = 0.20***)				
Regular monetary aid	11.5	7.1	24.6	16.9
Occasional monetary aid	17.9	17.0	23.6	20.5
Non-monetary aid	6.4	21.4	12.8	14.0
No assistance	64.1	54.5	39.0	48.6
Number in sample	78	112	195	385

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: a) This analysis does not include 49 migrants who were brought by their parents.
b) *** and ns indicate P<0.001 and Not significant (P>0.05) respectively.

Relatives in the place of origin

Family ties are of fundamental importance to maintain a relation with the village of origin (Hugo 1978:250). In order to investigate the family ties, respondents were asked whether currently they had any relatives in the place of origin, and as can be seen from Table 5.6, more than 93 per cent of respondents have relatives. This result is deemed to be a simple indicator to assess the relationship with the place of origin without investigating the density and diversity of relations, which can be understood by examining the types of relations. Hence, respondents having relatives in the place of origin were further requested to specify

the relations, and data show that a total of 51.3 per cent of respondents have their parents, 61 per cent have siblings and 55.7 per cent have other kinship relations, while only 8.7 per cent of respondents have spouses and children. A negligible 2.7 per cent of respondents reported relatives beyond these kinship relations. This examination of relations points out a close kinship relation between the respondents and their relatives in the place of origin, and this relation has developed based on the traditional extended family composition in the Indian sub-continent, holding its family members very closely (Davis 1951: 108 cited in Kothari 1980:298). However, the contingency Table 5.6 demonstrates that the proportion of respondents who have relatives in the place of origin is very high in every community, and these proportions are almost static among the three communities.

Visiting the place of origin in last 12 months

According to Caldwell (1969:140), the strongest contacts which migrants maintain with the village of origin are their revisits. Table 5.6 specifies that about three-quarters of respondents visited their places of origin at least once in the last 12 months from the date of survey, and the remaining one-quarter did not visit at all. This result primarily implies that migrants are keen, to a great extent, on continuing their ties with their native villages.

Respondents were further asked to state the purposes of their visits (if visited) in order to examine the nature of ties with the place of origin. Data reveal that the most common purpose (61.7 per cent) was meeting relatives to know about their well-being, and this purpose acts as a fundamental responsibility of the family relationship. In contrast, 6.6 per cent of respondents visited their relatives but as a pleasure trip, which was not obliged by any responsibility. Apart from these two purposes, 13.9 per cent of respondents went to the place of origin to look after their homesteads and land or take legal actions in this regard. In the case of performing social responsibilities, 7.6 per cent of respondents either attended the wedding of a close relative or celebrated the *Eid* (Muslim religious occasion) with relatives. A total of 10 per cent of respondents mentioned other reasons including on hearing news of a relative's death, for treatment, and to repay a loan. Hence, the purposes of visiting the places of origin appear as a strong social (including family) responsibility rather than an exclusive economic reason. However, the contingency table 5.6 reveals that there is no substantial difference in the distribution of visits paid by respondents among the

three *basti*. This result suggests that respondents of these three communities continued their commitments to their places of origin to an equal extent through return visits.

Remittances sent to the place of origin

Discussion on the degree of migrants' attachment to their places of origin would not be complete without analyzing the remittances sent to the village since remittance is considered to be one of the most important indicators of the maintenance of strong rural-urban ties (Hugo 1978:264). Despite the fundamental difficulty of defining remittances, it can be regarded as being only in monetary units, or both in monetary and non-monetary units (Standing 1984b:265). The latter approach is relatively broader than the former and is used in this research. Data reveal that about 17 and 20 per cent of the respondents having relatives in the place of origin sent regular and occasional monetary aid respectively, while 14 per cent of them sent non-monetary aid and the remaining (nearly 50 per cent) respondents did not send any assistance to their relatives. An examination of the types of remittances and relations with relatives in the place of origin reveals that of those respondents who have left their spouse or/and children in the place of origin, a little over 46 per cent sent regular monetary aid followed by the respondents who had parents in the place of origin (23.8 per cent). In general, all types of assistance more or less reached all four categories of kinship relations: spouses & children, parents, siblings and others. This direction of the flow of remittances confirms the family and social commitment of migrants to their relatives and indicates the maintenance of a close connection with the place of origin as well.

The distribution of remittances in Table 5.6 indicates that Jhilpar has a larger proportion of remitters than the other two *basti*, and the Chi square test finds this variation significant at less than one per cent level. It is argued that the flow of remittances depends on the degree of migrants' attachment to their origin and the level of their income (Oberai and Singh 1983:297). In the case of this research, the household size is smaller in Jhilpar than in the other two communities as noted in Section 4.4.1. and more precisely, more than 26 per cent of households in Jhilpar have at best two members, whereas this figure for Daroger tak and Bangabandhu is 9.5 and 12.1 per cent respectively. This variation in household size is likely to be a result of more recent arrivals in Jhilpar than in the other two communities. Subsequently, from the extended family point of view, some responsibilities lie with a

higher proportion of respondents in Jhilpar to send remittances to meet the current consumption needs of the remaining family members. Therefore, it can be concluded that migrants of Jhilpar have a better attachment with the place of origin than that of the other two communities in considering the flow of remittances.

Summary

The section indicates that the majority of respondents were continuing a strong tie with their places of origin through revisits and sending remittances. This high degree of attachment with the place of origin can be considered an indication of the commitment to the relatives remaining in the place of origin. On the other hand, this tie might be maintained to keep alive their existence in the place of origin for any possible return to origin in the future. Finally, no community has shown a different pattern from others in considering the nature and degree of attachment with the place of origin, excepting that the flow of remittances from Jhilpar is higher than that of the other two communities.

5.8 *Multivariate analysis of characteristics of migrants*

In the preceding five sections, the dynamism of *basti* migration and the heterogeneity of this dynamism among the three *basti* have been investigated. First, Section 5.3 reveals that the reported reasons for migration have varied significantly among the three communities, and a striking difference has been found between Jhilpar and the other two *basti*. The pattern of these differences is that respondents of the former *basti* reported lower destitution, but a higher incidence of economic pull factors, while respondents of the other two *basti* reported the reverse. Four aspects of the migration process have been analyzed in the following four sections in order to examine the relative influence of other factors in the migration process, and it is apparent that only the selectivity of migration in terms of HHs' pre-migration characteristics has varied significantly among the three communities. More importantly, the patterns of variation in reported reasons for migration and pre-migration characteristics have been consistent in the way that Jhilpar has shown a different pattern from the other two *basti*. But these three communities have not varied among themselves in considering the overall results of the remaining three aspects of the migration process, with the exception that respondents of Daroger tak were relatively more assisted by the family and social networks than were the other two communities, and Jhilpar has a higher

proportion of remitters than others. Therefore, it is evident that differences in the reported reasons for migration among the three *basti* have been affected by the heterogeneous characteristics of respondents of these three *basti.*

As these findings have been discovered through binary analysis, the present section is designed to summarize the differences in the characteristics of respondents and show the extent to which the three communities differ from each other. The aim of this analysis is not to predict anything about the migration stream into Dhaka's *basti*, but to show the community differences in terms of migrants' pre-migration characteristics. Therefore, like some other migratory research (Connell et al. 1976; Mehta 1982) discriminant analysis[68] is used below to show how pre-migration characteristics discriminate newcomers in the formation of the *basti* community.

Variables in the analysis

Pre-migration characteristics of HHs along with their length of residence in Dhaka are entered into the discriminant analysis. The length of stay in Dhaka is entered to examine whether the discriminant analysis considers the length of stay in Dhaka with migrants' characteristics in the same dimension to show the differences in the three communities because the mean of length of stay in Dhaka varies among the three communities and a significant variation in respondents' characteristics was found between the recent and long-term migrants in Section 5.4. Among these variables, age at migration and length of stay in Dhaka are interval, while four other variables, namely sex, educational level[69], previous labour force status, and asset-holding status in the place of origin are basically categorical, and have been displayed in Table 5.3. Age at migration and length of stay in Dhaka are measured in a single year, and the remaining four variables are treated with the dummy variable method, in which these variables are broken down into k-1 categories and each category is treated as a separate discriminant variable. Since all discriminant variables are treated as interval and the groups (i.e. *basti*/communities) of migrants remain as a discrete variable, analysis of variance (ANOVA) is carried out to compare the means of all

[68] For the concept of this method, please see Section 4.7.

[69] Here education is an ordered categorical variable, and thus, it can be handled by the 'arithmetic-progression scaling' (Huberty et al. 1986: 480) such as 1 for never attended, 2 for primary and so on. However, in the case of this analysis, education is transformed to dummy variable in order to be consistent with other categorical variables. The fact that both the arithmetic-progression scaling and dummy techniques have revealed the same result.

discriminant variables across the three *basti* and test the significance level of variations. The descriptions of these discriminant variables and the results of ANOVA are displayed in Table A4 of Appendix-A. However, all these discriminant variables are entered in the analysis simultaneously and the summary results are presented in the following table 5.7.

Table-5.7: The results of discriminant analysis based on five pre-migration characteristics of household heads and their length of stay in Dhaka according to the three *basti*

Measures	Discriminant functions	
	1	2
Structure matrix of variables		
LIVED (length of stay in Dhaka)	0.771*	0.258
ASSET3 (1=assetless, 0=otherwise)	0.445*	0.126
EDUCA1 (1=never attended, 0=otherwise)	0.411*	-0.081
ASSET1 (1=homestead & land, 0=otherwise)	-0.361*	-0.132
SEX (1=female, 0=male)	0.307*	0.262
EDUCA2 (1=class I-V, 0=otherwise)	-0.270*	0.195
AGEMI (age at migration)	-0.209*	0.043
PLOFR2 (1=business, 0=otherwise)	-0.191*	0.059
ASSET2 (1=homestead, 0=otherwise)	-0.172*	0.115
PLOFR7 (1=unemployed, 0=otherwise)	0.119*	-0.111
PLOFR5 (1=rickshaw puller, 0=otherwise)	-0.114*	0.053
EDUCA3 (1=class VI-X, 0=otherwise)	-0.102*	-0.013
PLOFR4 (1=weaver, 0=otherwise)	0.231	-0.664*
PLOFR1 (1=cultivator, 0=otherwise)	-0.087	0.198*
PLOFR6 (1=other non-agricultural activities, 0=otherwise)	-0.082	-0.128*
PLOFR3 (1=labourer, 0=otherwise)	0.070	0.100*
Different statistical tests		
Eigenvalue	0.24	0.10
Relative percentage (% of variance)	70.3	29.7
Canonical correlation	0.44	0.30
Lambda (Wilks)	0.74	0.91
Chi square	123.20	38.14
P (Significant confidence level)	0.000	0.001
DF (Degrees of freedom)	32	15
Group centroids (means)		
Bangabandhu	0.400	0.564
Daroger tak	0.545	-0.339
Jhilpar	-0.479	-0.032

Note: An asterisk marks in the structure matrix shows the marked variable's largest absolute correlation with one of the two functions.

Results and interpretations

Results show that the discriminant technique has derived two discriminant functions and different statistical tests, which denote the relative ability of each function to separate the groups. Among these statistical tests, the eigenvalues show the relative proportion of variance contributed by the two discriminant functions. The eigenvalues suggest that the

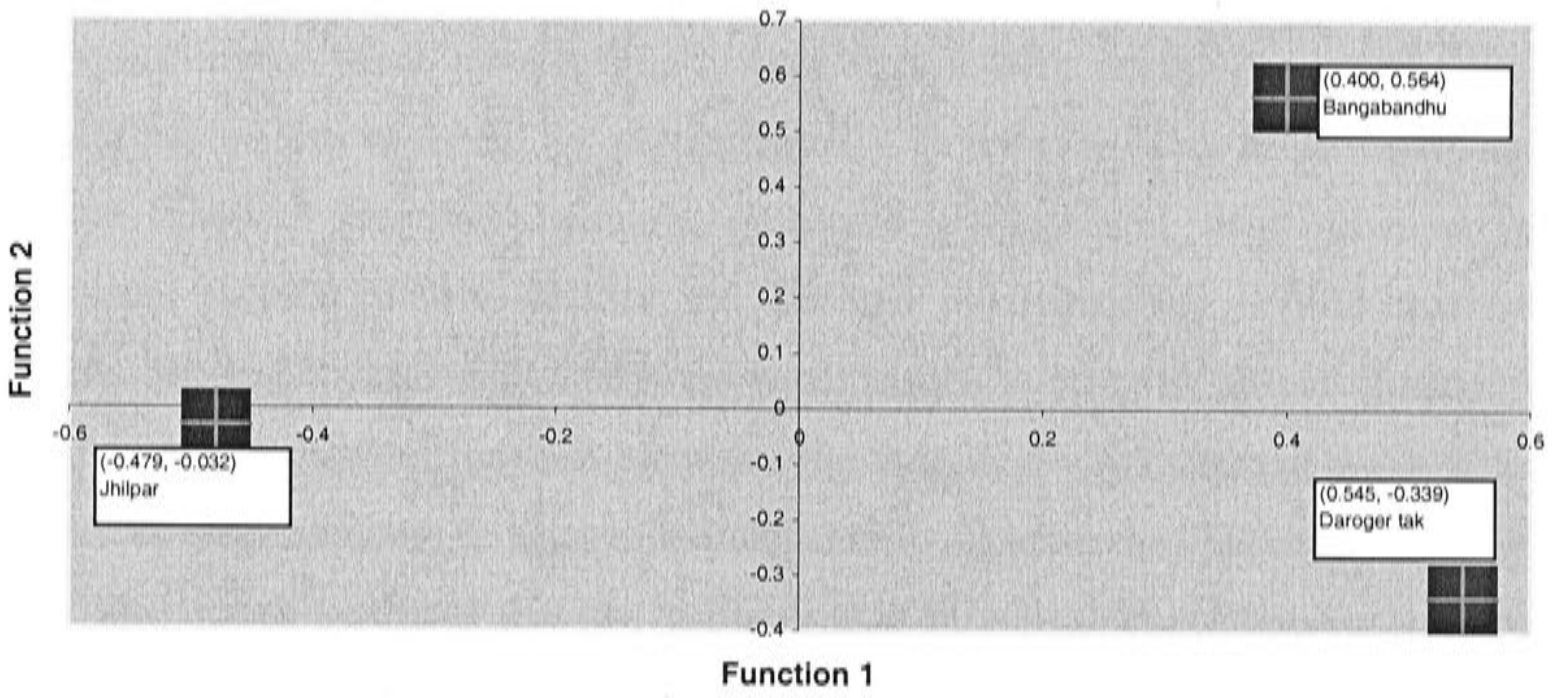
first function is two and a half times stronger than the second function (0.24 vs. 0.10) in considering the discriminant power. To make such comparisons more meaningful, another statistic 'relative percentage' is measured. It indicates that the first function accounts for 70.3 per cent of the variance in the solution, while the second accounts for the remaining variance. Similarly, the cannonical correlation, which varies from 0 to 1, shows a stronger relationship exists between the 'group variables' and the first function than the second, as the first function is moderately correlated with the groups but the second has a low correlation. A further aid in judging the importance of a discriminant function is its associated Lambda (Wilks) value. The simple concept is that as Lambda increases towards its maximum value of 1.0, it reports progressively less discrimination, and a value of 1.0 of Lambda shows there are no group differences (Klecka 1990:39). This indicates that function 1 is better than function 2 in showing the group differences. Finally, it can be seen from the values of P that both functions are statistically significant. These statistical tests indicate that both functions are reliable in showing the group differences.

The structure matrix primarily indicates the standardized coefficients for each discriminating variable for each function. Each coefficient represents the relative contribution of its associated variable to that function, and the sign merely denotes whether the variable is making a positive or negative contribution. In the structure matrix, correlations between discriminant functions and variables are ordered so that discriminators loading on the first function are listed first, and those loading on the second function second. It can be seen from the matrix that all discriminating variables are included in both functions, but the strongest correlations relate to the first 12 variables with function 1, of which the first (LIVED) and fourth (ASSET1) indicate the largest positive and negative weights respectively. The remaining four variables have their strongest correlation with function 2. To elaborate the composition of the functions, the first function presents the dimension describing the group differences based on all variables except the four dummy variables for previous occupations. Therefore, the second function serves to distinguish group differences exclusively based on a continuum of previous labour force participation status.

However, to understand the extent to which these two functions differentiate the three communities from one another, group centroids are examined. The group centroid, the most

typical positions for each group in the discriminant function space, is computed by using the group means in equation 4.7.1. The group centroids indicate the average discriminant score for each group on each function, and describe the nature of group differences. A plot of the group centroids gives a visual corroboration for better understanding of how far apart the groups are along each dimension (function), which is reported in Figure 5.1.

Figure-5.1: The three group centroids in the discriminant function space



As can be seen from Figure 5.1, the first function separates the Jhilpar *basti* from other two *basti* by almost the same extent, while the second function distinguishes the Bangabandhu *basti* from the remaining two *basti by* different extents. The second function, orthogonal to the first, is found to best separate groups on the basis of associations not used in the first one (Tabachnick and Fidell 1996:509). The scores of the first function confirm the group differences discovered through binary analysis in Section 5.4. It can be seen from Table 5.3 and Table A4 of Appendix-A that the first function reflects the relative importance of factors in which the largest variations among the three communities have been found in binary analysis. However, the functions are arranged in order of decreasing importance, and thus, a given difference between group means on the second function is not as meaningful as the same differences on the first function (Nie et al. 1975:443). Therefore, the first function should be taken into account to show the group differences of migrants in this analysis.

It is evident from the first function that respondents of Jhilpar are significantly distinct from the two other communities (the differences of mean score are 0.879 for Bangabandhu and 1.024 for Daroger tak) in considering almost all variables. In section 5.4, among the characteristics only the variation of age at migration was not found statistically significant among the three communities, but the distribution showed a relatively older aged pattern for Jhilpar than the two other communities. In accordance with the pattern of this distribution, the multivariate analysis recognizes age at migration as a discriminant factor between the respondents of Jhilpar and the two other *basti*. In contrast, although the status of previous labour force participation varied significantly among the communities, no particular pattern was observed for any community. In the case of the multivariate analysis, the first function identifies business, rickshaw pulling and unemployment as the discriminant factors between Jhilpar and the two other *basti*. It implies that prior to migration, the respondents of Jhilpar were better placed in terms of at least unemployment status. Moreover, the first function identifies the length of stay in Dhaka along with other variables as discriminators in the same dimension to separate the Jhilpar community from others. This result confirms that the difference in migrants' characteristics between the three communities is partly the differences between the recent and long-term migrants who are remaining in *basti*.

Summary

In taking into account both the results of this multivariate analysis and the binary analysis in Section 5.4, it can be concluded that respondents of Jhilpar *basti* are relatively better off or advanced than those of the other two *basti* in terms of maturity of age, formal educational attainment, previous labour force status and asset-holding status in the place of origin. In addition, Jhilpar differentiates from the two other *basti* almost to the same extent in this advancement.

5.9 *Conclusion*

This chapter has critically examined the diversity of the causes of migration in relation to five aspects of the migration process. In general, it has been found that migration into Dhaka's *basti* has occurred mainly due to economic push factors from rural areas, and this

migration process has been characterized by one-step migration, showing the desperation of migrants to move to the city. In addition, this migration process has been accelerated, to a large extent, by family and social networks. However, some significant points have appeared in the analysis, which should be documented here. First, contrary to some common reasons for migration into Dhaka's *basti*, a considerable proportion of HHs have been found to be weavers, who moved to Dhaka because of the unequal competition between handloom and power loom systems. Second, migration into Dhaka is caused by poverty, but living in Dhaka's *basti* is largely influenced by social and cultural practices which differ from region to region. Thus, migration into Dhaka's *basti* has been very selective in terms of the representation of the place of origin in *basti* populations.

On the other hand, in examining the heterogeneity of the migration process, it has been found that along with the immediate reasons for migration, the pre-migration characteristics of household heads have varied between Jhilpar and the other two communities. This variation has been partially associated with the period of migration as Jhilpar has been the home of more relatively recent migrants than the other two communities. The analysis has shown that the quality of HHs of Jhilpar was better or more advanced than that of the other two *basti* in terms of their pre-migration characteristics. This may mean that pull factors are becoming more important as development progresses. It has been mentioned that there is little evidence in the rural-urban migration of Bangladesh to suggest that contrary to the popular view, it is the relatively better off that tend to migrate to the city much faster probably due to the bigger role of pull factors compared to the push factors (Mahmud 1996 cited in Murshid 1999:8). It is, therefore, assumed that the relatively advanced status of HHs of Jhilpar should be reflected in their achievement in Dhaka, which will be examined in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: The Quality of Life in *Basti*

Having discussed the major features of the migratory movements towards Dhaka's *basti* and the factors which explain these movements, here the consequences of migration are examined in terms of migrants' achieved urban life in the destination. The level of livelihoods varies between social groups according to different positions in the social hierarchy, and thus, differences in the meaning of the level of life are normally expected (Proshansky and Fabian 1986:3, 21). It is important to note that *basti* dwellers lie at the bottom section of the urban social structure and suffer from cumulative inequalities (Majumdar 1978:30). *Basti* dwellers are badly off and encompass many aspects of want and disadvantages. As the dimensions of poverty in *basti* are immense, understanding of *basti* livelihoods to assess the consequences of migration becomes an important issue. The multidimensional concept of poverty under the term 'quality of life (QOL)' has been conceptualized in Section 2.2, accepting the argument that the problem of urban poverty is not merely a problem of low-income productivity; it is also a problem of access to facilities and opportunities. This multidimensional approach can indicate some crucial aspects of urban livelihoods in order to reveal the fundamental factors that affect the level of the quality of urban life.

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate how well or poorly migrants lead their livelihoods in *basti*, and in what significant ways the QOL varies among the migrated households in *basti* in order to disaggregate the importance of the underlying determinants of *basti* life. The plan of this chapter is as follows. In the first section, variables which are used in measuring the QOL and its progress in comparison with the conditions of the place of origin are defined including the construction of some indexes. The second section provides the analytical strategies to complete this chapter. Five domains of urban life namely economic, education and knowledge, health and nutrition, physical environment, and social environment are assessed systematically throughout the third section, while the fourth section highlights the subjective measures to assess the benefits of the migration decision in terms of progress in QOL in the destination compared to immediate pre-migration conditions. The fifth section summarizes the differences in the QOL between the three *basti* and provides plausible explanations for these differences. The following section

examines the determinants of achievements (QOL) through a series of multivariate analyses, while the main findings of this chapter are set out in the final section.

6.1 *Definitions and measurements of variables*

Primarily, two sets of variables are used in analyzing the QOL throughout sections 6.3 and 6.4. The first set of variables is selected from five domains of life to measure the objective conditions of *basti* life, and most of these variables are characterized as household variables. Some variables such as present principal occupation, public knowledge, status of family planning methods, neighbourhood security in terms of crime and violence, and leisure and recreation are limited to individuals. The second set of variables are the subjective evaluations which have been developed based on respondent's self-assessment on their progress in four basic aspects of life compared to the pre-migration life in the place of origin. Details of these two sets of variables are documented in Table A5 of Appendix-A. As can be seen from this table, a total of 23 variables under five domains are defined to measure the objective conditions of the QOL, while a total of five variables are selected to assess progress in achievements. Apart from these variables, on the basis of the binary analysis in Sections 6.3 and 6.4, a third set of variables will be selected to introduce in the multivariate analysis to find out the factors that affect the QOL, and the selection of those variables will be discussed in Section 6.6.

With regard to the measurement of variables, some indexes are constructed by using scaling methods[70] for convenience of measurement and statistical analysis. As demonstrated in Section 2.2, it is conceptually controversial to consider a unique indicator for overall well-being. In addition, it is empirically difficult to single out an index for the multidimensional QOL measurements due to the lack of consensus in weighting among the QOL domains (Liu 1977:232). But it is possible to develop an index from a set of similar types of items toward a particular aspect of life, and the measurement of such indexes does not contradict the theoretical concept of the QOL. Therefore, the following five indexes are constructed so that statistical tests on these indexes can be applied easily.

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[70] For the concept of this method, please see Section 4.7.

Household durable index: This index indicates the availability of eight necessary consumer durables for every household in the Bangladesh context. Respondents were asked whether their household possessed these items. A two-point scale is used for each item to construct the index and the factor analysis shows an Alpha coefficient of 0.73 for this index.

Items of durables	Attribute values	Points
(a) *Khat* or *Chouki* (Bed), (b) Chair and/or Table, (c) *Almirah* (Chest of drawers), (d) Blanket/quilt for everyone for winter, (e) Sweater/warm clothing for everyone for winter, (f) Radio, (g) TV, and (h) Electric fan	Available	1.0
	Not available	0.0
Household possession Index = a+ ---+h; Max score = 8.0, Min score = 0.0 The higher the score, the higher number of durables is possessed by the household		

Health knowledge index: This index provides an indication of the depth of household heads (HHs)' knowledge about households' health awareness. Respondents were asked about six basic health issues to assess whether they are concerned about these issues or practise them in their household. But in the case of boiling drinking water, data show that only 1.3 per cent of respondents answered positively due to the fact that *basti* dwellers cannot afford the fuel cost for boiling water. Most importantly, the factor analysis eliminates this item from the index in considering the unidimensionality of items. As a result, the index has been developed with five items based on a two-point scale, and an Alpha coefficient of 0.60 was obtained in the factor analysis.

Items of health concerns	Attribute values	Points
(a) Use soap before taking meal, (b) Use soap/ash/mud after using latrine, (c) Know about six dangerous diseases for children, (d) Know about the importance of taking Iodized salt, and (e) Know about the family planning methods to keep family small	Yes	1.0
	No	0.0
Public knowledge index = a + ---+ e; Max score = 5.0, Min score = 0.0 The higher the score, the better the household's basic health awareness		

Food consumption index: This index measures the nutritional quality of the diet. Respondents were asked to give information about different nutritious foods consumed by

the household in the last seven days from the interview date. Information was collected on a total of 10 items, but the factor analysis eliminates rice, bread, pulses and vegetables from the index because these items are commonly used in everyday meals in Bangladesh. Therefore, six types of nutritional items namely fish, eggs, meat, milk, sweets and fruit have been chosen to construct this index. A five-point scale is developed to measure the rate of food consumption during the period of seven days, and the Alpha coefficient for this index is 0.64, according to the factor analysis.

Items of nutritional food	Attribute values	Points
(a) Fish, (b) Eggs, (c) Meat, (d) Milk, (e) Sweets (mainly made with milk and sugar), and (f) Fruit	None (0 day)	0.0
	Rarely (1 day)	1.0
	Some days (2-4 days)	2.0
	Most days (5-6 days)	3.0
	Every day (7 days)	4.0
Food consumption index = a + --- + f; Max score = 24.0, and Min score = 0.0 The higher the index-value, the better the consumption rate of nutritional food items in the household.		

Water and electricity index: This index is constructed from two basic amenities namely tap water and electricity to measure the extent to which households have access to these urban services. A two-point scale is developed to construct this index, and the factor analysis shows an Alpha coefficient of 0.67 for these two items.

Items of services	Attribute values	Points
(a) Tap Water, and (b) Electricity	Available	1.0
	Not available	0.0
Water & electricity index = a+b; Max score =2.0, Min score = 0.0 The higher the score, the better the access to tap water and electricity.		

Overall progress index: This index is constructed to show the overall progress of the respondent's achievements in Dhaka compared to the pre-migration situation in the place of origin. Respondents were requested to assess their progress in four specific aspects of life namely income, household durables, food consumption and housing conditions. An

identical pre-coded question was used to record respondent's perceptions for every aspect of life and on the basis of responses a three-point scale is developed to assign the attributes. The Alpha coefficient is 0.65 for this index.

Aspects of life	Attribute values	Points
(a) Household income, (b) Household durables, (c) Household food consumption, and (d) Housing conditions	Better off	1.0
	Same (including the response uncertain)	0.0
	Worse off	-1.0
Progress index = a+b+c+d; Max score = 4.0, Min score = -4.0 The higher the score, the better the progress in Dhaka.		

6.2 *Strategy of analysis*

As pre-migration characteristics are likely to be positively associated with the level of achievement in the city (Corno 1983:167), it is important to examine whether a similar difference to the preceding chapter exists in the achieved QOL between the three *basti*. The analysis, therefore, begins with simple comparisons between the three community's QOLs to examine whether migrated households in one community are disproportionately achieving a better urban life than that of others, and how these results are consistent with the earlier findings in Chapter 5. It should be remembered that a total of 49 respondents, those were brought by their parents in their childhood, were dropped from the analysis in the preceding chapter because they did not have any choice over the migration decision. But these 49 respondents are included in this chapter since they have experienced the same social circumstances as other migrants in *basti*. In order to complete the comparative analysis, binary analysis is carried out through cross-tabulations, the analysis of variance (ANOVA), and Pearson correlation, depending on the types of independent and dependent variables.

In the second part of the analysis, the effects of different factors on the QOL are examined through a series of multivariate analyses. The purpose of using multivariate techniques is to reveal the independent impacts of different factors on the QOL and the extent to which these factors affect the QOL. These factors are divided into three groups: individual (HHs)

level-factors, household factors and community factors. This multivariate analysis is carried out by using the Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) technique.

6.3 *Domains of the QOL*

The aim of this section is to show how poorly the migrated households lead their lives in *basti* of Dhaka, and the extent to which different aspects of life vary among the three communities. For these purposes, the five domains of urban life namely economic, education and knowledge, health and nutrition, physical environment and social environment are examined in the following five sub-sections.

6.3.1 Economic

Economic concerns have been the dominant paradigm of rural-urban migration, and in this respect, the Todaro model incorporates a migration function which explains rural-urban migrant's responsiveness to the expected rather than the actual wage in the urban labour market as mentioned in Section 2.1. Migrants may initially be willing to accept very low wages as the rural poor migrate to the cities in search of employment rather than better employment opportunities (Mazumdar 1994:93; Souza 1978:xv). In the case of the present research, it has been found in Section 5.3 that only about 9 per cent of respondents were attracted by the urban labour market opportunities. However, income and its associated characteristics are presented here to reveal the level of economic well-being of migrants.

Income

Income is a measure of command over marketed goods and services, for example food and clothing, shelter, and general amenities (Dasgupta 1993:78), but the collection of accurate income data is a demanding task (Montgomery et al. 2000:155). To properly measure income, attention was given to the details of primary and secondary employment of household members, and income derived from other sources was measured as well. The average household income in three *basti* is calculated as Tk 3467.94, which varies from the lowest level of Tk 2870.89 in Bangabandhu to the highest level of Tk 3816.06 in Daroger tak, while Jhilpar shows an average income of Tk 3518.91. The degree of income inequality appears to be notable among the households as the top quartile has about four times the income (mean=Tk 5991.14) of the first quartile (mean=Tk 1557.06). The GOB-ADB study fixed a cut-off point of Tk 3500 for identifying the urban poor in *basti,* and

found that 54.85 per cent of *basti* dwellers were below the poverty line (GOB and ADB 1996a:v-vi). If this measurement is followed in this research, the figure for those below the poverty line becomes 58.5 per cent, suggesting that income data are consistent in these two surveys. On the other hand, the household income in *basti* is far below than the overall urban household income in Bangladesh since it was estimated as Tk 7973 in 1995-96 by the BBS[71] (BBS 1998:x). Data reveal that HHs have earned 63.9 per cent of the total household income, and only 9.2 per cent of heads have a secondary occupation, which has contributed less than 4 per cent of their total income. Similarly, income from other sources such as land and farm are negligible.

However, the distribution of income within families has been central to mainstream developments in economics. Should income be considered according to the household unit or to individuals in relation to the household's internal structure such as size, age and gender (Dasgupta 1993:305; Kuznets 1976:93). This delicate issue is more likely to arise when the family is impoverished (Dasgupta 1993:305). The implicit assumption in most social policy is that incomes are uniformly distributed within families (Lazear and Michael 1988:13), and especially, per capita income is commonly used as a welfare indicator (Gedam 1995:29). Although it has been suggested theoretically to use per capita measures (Musgrove and Ferber 1979:29), it is practically difficult to follow in many aspects of life due to the lack of information (Lazear and Michael 1988:13). This research assumes that the household income is not necessarily equally shared by household members since they share the common facilities which are available in the household, and thus, according to the OECD equivalent scale (OECD 1982:37), income is presented in Table 6.1 in terms of household equivalent monthly income, which is calculated on the basis of household size and age of the members.

[71] In taking into account the household size, the per capita income in *basti* has been found about half of the urban per capita income in Bangladesh (TK 791.76 vs 1504.00).

Table-6.1: Economic domain and its variation by three *basti*

Indicators	Name of *basti*			All	Number in sample
	Banga-bandhu	Daroger tak	Jhilpar		
Mean of household equivalent income (F=14.79***)	961.60	1166.53	1394.34	1233.36	460
Dwellers' labour force participation (V=0.08***)					2016
Employed	35.6	35.0	46.3	39.9	
Unpaid family workers	3.1	2.7	1.9	2.4	
Unemployed	4.2	3.9	2.9	3.6	
Not in labour force	57.0	58.4	48.9	54.1	
Present principal occupations in employment (V=0.31***)					801
Petty businessmen	17.0	26.2	14.2	18.5	
Garment workers	3.8	25.4	38.3	27.5	
Rickshaw pullers	16.4	19.8	15.5	17.0	
Maid servants	17.0	7.7	3.6	7.5	
Labourers	10.1	4.4	5.6	6.1	
Construction workers	4.4	1.2	7.9	5.1	
Factory workers	8.8	1.6	2.0	3.2	
Drivers	3.1	5.2	2.8	3.6	
Security guards	1.3	2.4	2.3	2.1	
Shop assistants	2.5	1.6	1.3	1.6	
Office assistants	3.8	1.6	2.3	2.4	
Others	11.9	2.8	4.3	5.4	
Household savings status ($V=0.09^{ns}$)					460
No	57.6	62.8	65.2	62.8	
Yes, occasionally	8.1	15.3	9.8	11.1	
Yes regularly	34.3	21.9	25.0	26.1	
Household indebtness status (V=0.26***)					460
No	43.4	78.1	66.1	64.8	
Yes	56.6	21.9	33.9	35.2	
Mean score of household durables index (F=17.70***)	3.37	3.90	2.61	3.16	460

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: a) *** and ns indicate P<0.001 and Not significant (P>0.05) respectively.

Table 6.1 shows that mean household equivalent income is Tk 1233.36, and income varies significantly between the three communities where Bangabandhu has the lowest and Jhilpar has the highest household equivalent income. The number of earners in the household is significantly associated with both household income (P<0.001) and household equivalent income (P<0.01), but the correlation with household income (r=0.54) is stronger than the correlation with household equivalent income (r=0.13), suggesting that the number of household earners is an important factor for household income conditions. As noted in Section 4.3.1, the mean number of household members is lower in Jhilpar than in the other two communities. In contrast, the households of Jhilpar have a relatively better number of earners compared to the other two communities because the mean of household earners is

1.76 for Jhilpar compared to 1.80 and 1.63 for Daroger tak and Bangabandhu respectively. As a result, Jhilpar appears to be the best-earning community among the three *basti*, and even if per capita income is calculated based on a uniform distribution within the household (i.e. dividing household income by the number of household members and assigning each family member the average income), the pattern of income distribution among the communities remains the same as equivalent income. Moreover, although statistically no correlation is found between the household income and the length of stay in Dhaka, a negative correlation appeared ($P<0.01$) when household equivalent income is considered instead of household income. Similarly, the length of stay in the current community is negatively associated ($P<0.05$) with the household equivalent income. These results suggest that recent migrated households have a better income level than the long-term migrants, and therefore, households of Jhilpar have achieved a better household equivalent income than the other two communities.

Present labour force participation and principal occupations

Poor living conditions in the rural areas encourage people to the city, which offers a means of scraping an income together (Gilbert 1990:60). Studies on squatter settlements around the developing countries including Bangladesh have found that squatters are either unemployed or employed in the informal sector and more precisely in the menial jobs (BBS 1999; Bhattacharya 1996; Ross 1973). While this is true in general, this sub-section investigates how and to what extent variation exists in the structure of participation in urban labour markets for *basti* dwellers.

The labour force participation status of all household members is presented in Table 6.1, specifying that among the population of three *basti*, nearly 40 per cent are employed compared to only 3.6 per cent unemployed. It should be noted that because of the prevalence of underemployment, to some extent the rate of unemployment is underestimated. In regard to occupations of employed dwellers, the table reveals that working in the garment industry has been the dominant occupation followed by self-employed business and rickshaw pulling. Among the categories of occupations, only office assistants (2.4 per cent) can be characterized as the 'formal sector' jobs, and other occupations should belong to the 'informal sector'. Although the garment industry is a well-established formal manufacturing sector, workers are not only paid low wages but

they do not have any job security and good fringe benefits as well, and thus, this category seems to be a non-formal sector from the worker's point of view. However, data show that this garment industry has a large impact on female participation in the labour force (32.8 per cent) because 61.2 per cent of female workers are involved in this industry followed by 21.7 per cent engaged in casual household work. It seems that occupations for women are very selective as they are mainly engaged in the garment industry and household work. It is interesting to find that 93 per cent of female garment workers are not HHs, and 43.5 per cent of them are never married, and as a result, their mean age is 21.3 years. These results suggest that the garment industry has been a major of source of employment particularly for young women, and a secondary source of household income to urban poor because HHs are the main earners as mentioned above.

If educational attainment is taken into account, data reveal that 40.4 per cent of employed persons never attended school, while only 18 per cent of them have more than primary education. Despite the overall low educational attainment and domination of informal sectoral occupations, the relationship between the educational attainment and principal occupations is statistically significant. The general trend of this relationship is that workers who never attended schools are largely rickshaw pullers, daily labourers and maidservants, but those who have some education are more likely engaged in garment industry, driving and construction works. In considering the individual earning, it is found that drivers have the highest monthly income (Tk 3351) followed by office assistants, petty businessmen, rickshaw pullers and construction workers whose income levels vary from Tk 2119 to 2343, while the two lowest paid occupations are garment workers (Tk 1343) and maidservants (Tk 665). It should be noted here that street hawkers or vendors have been categorized with the petty business group, and subsequently, income for that whole group becomes relatively low. In the case of maidservants, they are often provided with some food or clothing that is not counted here. Nonetheless, women are discriminated against in wage-payments because having been 32.8 per cent of total workers; women are earning only 19.6 per cent of the total income.

It can be seen from Table 6.1 that both labour force participation and occupations vary among the three *basti*. In considering the labour force participation, Jhilpar has a higher rate of labour participation than the other two *basti*, which have almost the same

participation rate. In contrast, a striking difference is found between Bangabandhu and other two communities in the case of occupations. In this case, the former community has a notably lower proportion of garment workers but a higher proportion of casual labourers and maidservants compared to the other two communities. This difference seems to be the primary reason for the income inequality between Bangabandhu and the other two *basti* found earlier. This variation in occupations is probably affected by the geographical location, as garment factories are more concentrated around Daroger tak and Jhilpar than Bangabandhu. In addition, qualitative data from the female focus group discussion (FGD) in Bangabandhu suggest that the vulnerable security surrounding this *basti* discourages women from going out for work. As a result, women in Bangabandhu work at home for some small industries (mainly incense), which have developed in the old part of Dhaka. However, the female participation rate seems to be a determinant for the income inequality between the *basti*, as the number of women workers per household differs among the three communities, ranging from 0.55 in Bangabandhu to 0.60 in Jhilpar although this variation is not statistically significant.

Savings and indebtedness status

Both the savings and indebtedness status are commonplace in measuring economic position. While the former is assumed to be associated positively, the latter acts reversely. In the case of this research, savings and indebtedness are measured in terms of only cash, which is saved or loaned by any household members. Table 6.1 indicates that more than 62 per cent of households do not have any savings at all, while 26.1 and 11.1 per cent of households have saved regularly and occasionally respectively. Further data analysis suggests that regular savers are the members of NGO groups (73.6 per cent) or other credit-based associations organized by *basti* dwellers (13.6 per cent), whereas irregular savers have mainly kept money in their own hands or in banks. In regard to indebtedness, it can be seen from Table 6.1 that a little over 35 per cent of households currently have debts, and in this regard, data reveal that 81 per cent of the debts are worth less than Tk 10,000 and only five households have a large debt worth more than Tk 50,000. Among the indebted households, the largest group (42.6 per cent) have loans from NGOs and the remainder have loaned from relatives (23.5 per cent), private moneylenders (12.6 per cent) and other sources including bank and own association (21.6 per cent). Private moneylenders have

contributed a small proportion of loans due to their high rate of interest as evidenced by both quantitative and qualitative data.

The above analysis suggests that NGOs have been the main source of loans and depositing of savings since loans are given on the condition of regular savings. The bivariate analysis shows that household savings status is positively associated with household equivalent income, but no significant association is found between the household indebtedness and equivalent income. However, the cross-tabulation between household savings and indebtedness points out that these two aspects of household economic well-being are significantly associated, as 45.4 per cent of households do not have any savings or loans while 15.2 per cent of households have both loans and regular savings. It can be argued that this 45.4 per cent are the economically poorest households, and that is why they do not have any access to any sources of credit. While this argument might be partially true, further analysis suggests that the sources of credit do not vary significantly according to the household income. Moreover, qualitative data suggest that poor dwellers have the realization that any repayment of loans will be a terrible burden for them due to their low income. In other words, the perception to be free of debt among the *basti* dwellers is strong. Therefore, in taking into account the savings status, it seems that *basti* dwellers have not suffered a harrow of debts since indebtness has been a common characteristic of poverty (Bhattacharya 1996:73; Chambers 1988:13).

The contingency table 6.1 shows that household savings status does not vary among the three communities, but indebtedness shows a significant variation according to the Chi-square test. In this latter variation, households of Bangabandhu show a higher proportion of indebtedness than the other two communities, and this is an expected result because this is the poorest community in terms of their household income and subsequently, some households might borrow money to meet household needs.

Household durables

Having some necessary consumer durables in the households is an important aspect of material well-being. The ability to buy durables indicates the level of household economic well-being, and on the other hand, this ownership is considered an indicator of having a better way of life in the city. In this regard, a durable index is developed in Section 6.1

based on a summary scale of eight consumer durables to measure the availability of these durables in households.

Table 6.1 specifies that on average every household consumes a little over than three durables out of eight items, and the level of consuming items varies among households. In this regard, data show that the large proportion of households (66 per cent) owned one to four items, while 8.5 per cent of households did not possess any items and only 3.0 per cent of households have equipped their dwellings with every item. However, a highly significant variation is found in the score of durables index among the three communities. This index score is only weakly correlated with the household income ($r=0.15$ and $P<0.01$), and as a result, Bangabandhu has scored better than Jhilpar, which has the highest equivalent income. As households of Jhilpar are relative newcomers, it can be assumed that the length of stay in Dhaka has an impact on having consumer durables. In this regard, it is found that the length of stay in Dhaka has a weaker correlation ($r=0.24$, $P<0.001$) with the score of consuming durables than the length of stay in the current community ($r=0.31$, $P<0.001$). This result suggests that households' prolonged residence in a *basti* is an important factor in improving the possession of consumer durables gradually.

Summary

It can be concluded that the *basti* population have a very low level of income compared to the overall urban population in Bangladesh. But the important point is that 40 per cent of household members are employed compared to only 3.6 per cent unemployed. The achievement in terms of household income is significantly associated with the numbers of employed persons in the household despite the fact that more than three-fifths of household income is earned only by the heads. Similarly, female labour force participation plays a significant role in household income although their contribution to the household income is relatively lower in comparison with their participation rate in labour force. In addition, *basti* dwellers do not have a harrow of debts in considering the savings status, and they consume a low level of durables, as they possess a little over only three basic items out of eight. Apart from the savings status, other economic indicators vary significantly among the three communities. More importantly, the Jhilpar community has shown a better achievement (except household durables) compared to others, and this better achievement

seems to be influenced by the advanced characteristics of recent migrants who are largely concentrated in Jhilpar as found in the preceding chapter.

6.3.2 Education and knowledge

During the last three to four decades, the world has experienced an education explosion (Psacharopoulos and Tilak 1991:53), and similarly, the gross school enrolment in Bangladesh has increased dramatically since the early 1980s as discussed in Section 5.4. A question arises how does this growth in education affect the urban poor in building up their human capital? Therefore, this section is designed to examine the level of household educational attainment, children's school attendance and HHs' health knowledge with regard to the extent to which migrants can share the opportunities and advantages of development activity undertaken in *basti*.

Table-6.2: Education and knowledge domain and its variation by three *basti*

Indicators	Name of *basti*			All	Number in sample
	Banga-bandhu	Daroger tak	Jhilpar		
Household highest educational attainment (V=0.13**)					460
Never attended	12.1	8.0	14.7	12.2	
Class I-V	67.7	53.3	49.1	54.3	
Class VI-X	16.2	32.8	29.0	27.4	
SSC & above	4.0	5.8	7.1	6.1	
Children's school attendance (mean of proportions of children (5-<14) currently attending schools) (F=7.14**)	0.71	0.62	0.47	0.58	277
Mean score of household heads' health knowledge (F=6.83**)	3.61	3.07	3.58	3.43	460

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002
Note: a) ** indicates P<0.01.

Household educational attainment and children's school attendance

It can be seen from Table 6.2 that 12.2 per cent of households do not have a member who has ever attended school, and there are only 6.1 per cent of households, of which every household has a member (or more) who have passed SSC or received higher education. The remaining vast proportion of households have achieved either up to primary or secondary education. Household educational attainment significantly varies across the three communities and as presented in the table, Jhilpar and Daroger tak show a better level of educational achievement than Bangabandhu. Nevertheless, if the household's highest

educational attainment in this table is compared with HHs' educational attainment documented in Table 5.3, it becomes interesting to find that the achievement in educational attainment in Bangabandhu and Daroger tak is better than in Jhilpar because the latter *basti* has relatively better educated heads compared to the former two communities. In particular, Bangabandhu did not have a single HH who has passed SSC, nevertheless currently 4 per cent of households of this community have members who have passed SSC or even attained higher education.

The proportions of household children who currently attend schools presented in Table 6.2 support the above finding by showing that children's school attendance rate is highest in Bangabandhu followed by Daroger tak and Jhilpar. Of those children who attend school, 90.1 per cent of them undertake primary education and 3.9 per cent of them attend a high school or college, while the remaining undertake some education in *madrasha.* Data indicate that 9.4 per cent of children work for income, and the largest proportion of them are engaged in the garment industry. Because children aged less than 14 years are not permitted to work in the garment industry, qualitative data reveal that children mention their age as being a little over 14 years at the time of interview. In relation to the availability of opportunities or advantages of development activities, data indicate that NGO schools have been the main source of receiving education for the *basti* children because 72.2 per cent of school going children attend NGO schools. In contrast, 16.9 and 10.9 per cent of school going children attend a government or private school respectively. Data also reveal that although a proportion of children occasionally pay a small fee to the government (20.8 per cent) and NGO (48.3 per cent) schools, more than 80 per cent of students are provided books by these schools. Studying in private schools is expensive because monthly fees are paid regularly and this type of school provides no books or clothes.

In general, educational attainment is believed to be highly correlated with income as is found in some Asian countries (Gertler and Rahman 1994:153), but in the case of this research, the binary analysis suggests that the proportion of school attending children in the household is not associated with household income. Similarly, children's school attendance does not vary according to the HHs' educational level. These results can be explained by two factors in relation to schools' characteristics: accessibility of schools and the quality of

schools. Due to the absence of government schools, NGO informal schools are the only hope for *basti* children unless their parents take special initiative to send them to recognized schools. Moreover, parents are not convinced by the quality of NGO schools because they believe that these schools can provide some basic education, but they are not able to issue a recognized certificate for having a job in the future. As a result, attendance in NGO schools is largely determined by NGO schoolteachers rather than parents, as teachers are assigned the task to bring children to the school. In sum, it can be argued that education of *basti* children is mainly determined by the NGO activities, which vary across the communities.

Household heads' health knowledge

Knowledge might be an output of education and in principle, this knowledge is acquired through formal education offered by schools, colleges and other institutions (Dasgupta 1993:97). In addition, knowledge can be transmitted through the family, friends, community, media, and so forth. As the educational level of *basti* population has been found to be very low, HHs' consciousness is measured to examine how much they are aware about their personal and household health conditions. The kind of knowledge measured in this research is based on basic health concerns including reproductive and child heath. In Section 6.1, an index has been developed based on five health concerns to measure the level of HHs' health knowledge. Table 6.2 indicates that the mean score of the index is 3.43, suggesting that on average every head has acquired knowledge in more than three subjects out of five. The level of knowledge varies between the communities with Daroger tak showing a lower level than the other two communities. No variations in the level of knowledge appeared between the recent and long-term migrants, but a highly significant variation ($F=12.51$ and $P<0.001$) in the index is found according to the respondents' educational attainment, showing the lowest score of 3.07 for respondents who never attended school and the highest score of 4.44 acquired by the respondents who have passed SSC or higher degree.

Respondents were also asked to mention the sources of acquiring knowledge for each subject, and data show that media (radio, television and newspaper) have been the main source of knowledge for every subject. In contrast, NGO workers have transmitted this basic knowledge to about 20 per cent of HHs with the exception that this figure increases

for two subjects: 41.7 per cent for the six child diseases and 31.3 per cent for family planning. These higher proportions of transmitting by NGO workers are related to the health programs of NGOs, as their health programs are largely concentrated on family planning and child immunization. Therefore, it is fair to conclude that HHs have a moderate level of basic health knowledge, which has been transmitted by media and NGO workers but more likely received by those respondents who have formal education.

Summary

In sum, if educational attainment is considered as human capital to command over life or more precisely in enhancing people's capability for economic productivity, opportunities for *basti* population to acquire education must be in question. NGOs have been the major source of facilities to educate *basti* children, and it has been found that the proportion of children attending school is influenced by neither the economic conditions of the households nor its heads' educational attainment. Instead, this proportion is largely influenced by the level of NGOs activities in *basti* since these NGO activities vary from *basti* to *basti,* and therefore, the proportion of children attending school should be characterized as a community variable. On the other hand, NGO workers along with media play an important role to develop *basti* dwellers' health knowledge, and in this case, more educated people are more likely to acquire this knowledge. In other words, health knowledge appears to be an outcome of educational attainment.

6.3.3 Health and nutrition

Health and nutrition are important ends in themselves in the developing countries (Behrman 1991:79). In analyzing the QOL, like education, health is broadly considered as a resource, providing control over one's life (Willms and Gilbert 1991:1). Health status is seen as an outcome of nutritional inputs as this outcome is thought to be related to nutrient intakes (Behrman 1991:86). Similarly, access to health care has been an important indicator in the measurement of health status, given the reality in poor countries of a significant deficiency in health care facilities. The aim of this section is to examine health status and nutritional food consumption status of migrated households, and the extent to which this status varies among them.

Health status

The measurement of health status primarily depends on the nature of the study. For instance, on a macro or aggregate level, health status usually refers to life expectancy, infant mortality, child mortality and so forth. But representation of health status in micro empirical studies generally is by clinical or anthropometric measures, respondents' reported disease symptoms, and reports on incapacity for undertaking normal activities (Behrman 1991:83). In other words, health status is objectively measured or subjectively evaluated, and in the case of measuring the QOL, subjective measure commonly is used (Oberg and Gallopin 1992:5; Willms and Gilbert 1991:3).

This present research, therefore, has measured the household sickness status on the basis of household members' incapacity for undertaking normal activities with symptoms in terms of either chronic or acute. In addition to this sickness status, another two dimensions of health status namely household children's (aged one year or less) immunization coverage and the contraceptive prevalence status of HHs or their spouses are measured to reveal a comprehensive picture of household health conditions. Data presented in Table 6.3 reveal that nearly 60 per cent of households have one or more members who were sick (termed plain or simple sickness) only for sometime over the 30 day-period from the date of survey, and in contrast, about 17 per cent of households had at least one chronically ill member over the same period. Data show that about 41 per cent of the latter households also had acute sick members. However, it can be seen from the table that only about 25 per cent of households were free from sickness.

In regard to other two health concerns, Table 6.3 indicates that nearly 50 per cent of HHs or their spouses have ever used family planning methods, which is significantly below the national figure of 74.6 for ever-married women aged 10-49 (NIPORT et al. 2001:51). The guidelines of the immunization program in Bangladesh suggest that vaccines (DPT, BCG, Polio, and Measles) are given to children according to their age, and all vaccines should be received by age 12 months. But mainly due to the small number of children in the data, it is hard to measure the immunization rate according to age. Therefore, this rate or coverage has been measured on whether a child is vaccinated ever by age 12 months with any kind of vaccine, and Table 6.3 shows that a little over 76 per cent of children have ever been

given at least one vaccine, while the remaining children have been out of touch of immunization care.

Table-6.3: Health and nutrition domain and its variation by three *basti*

Indicators	Name of *basti*			All	Number in sample
	Banga-bandhu	Daroger tak	Jhilpar		
Household sickness status (V=0.12*)					460
Nobody sick	17.2	32.1	22.3	24.1	
Member(s) sick only at any time	65.7	47.4	63.4	59.1	
At least a member chronically sick	17.2	20.4	14.3	16.7	
Contraceptive prevalence status (V=0.04^{ns})					446
Never used	45.4	51.5	49.8	49.3	
Ever used	54.6	48.5	50.2	50.7	
Children immunization status (V=0.24^{ns})					60
Never immunized	12.5	36.4	16.7	23.3	
Ever immunized	87.5	63.6	83.3	76.7	
Mode of treatment (V=0.25***)					349
No treatment	18.3	9.7	11.5	12.6	
Medicine store	35.4	17.2	44.3	35.0	
NGO service	12.2	3.2	2.3	4.9	
Private doctors/clinics	28.0	59.1	36.8	40.7	
Government hospitals	6.1	10.8	5.2	6.9	
Mean score of household food consumption index (F=21.08***)	4.47	7.23	5.47	5.78	460

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002
Note: a) *, *** and ns indicate P<0.05, P<0.001 and Not significant (P>0.05) respectively.

The contingency table 6.3 shows that health well-being of migrants appears to be static among the three communities although household sickness status varies a little among them. It is important to note that household equivalent income is weakly associated with both household sickness (F=4.83 and P<0.01) and child immunization (F=4.71 and P<0.05), but the contraceptive prevalence status does not differ statistically according to equivalent income. However, HHs who had acquired SSC and above education significantly (p<0.05) vary from other heads having education less than SSC or no education in using any family planning methods. It seems, therefore, that household health status has been influenced by both individual and household characteristics.

Access to health care

Accesslibity of heath care facilities is measured by mode of treatment for household sick members, and the data presented in Table 6.3 signify the prevailing conditions of health care facilities in *basti*. As can be observed from this table, sickness is largely treated by the

private doctors, and another large proportion of households went to the medicine stores to buy medicine prescribed by the owners (quack doctors) of stores. Among the five categories of treatments, private doctors are thought to be the most expensive service. However, a substantial variation in the mode of treatments is observed among the three communities, and this variation probably implies the relative economic poor conditions of Bangabandhu because it has a higher proportion of households with no treatment category and a lower proportion of households who went to the private doctor /clinic compared to other communities. In addition, it is worthwhile to note that households have better access to NGO facilities in Bangabandhu than in other communities. Interestingly, access to health care does not vary statistically among the households either by their equivalent income or by their heads' educational attainment. Finally, the important point is that both NGOs and the government provide the least facilities for the treatment of illness, and the reasons for this unavailability are that NGOs' health programs are not as extended as credit programs, and access to government hospitals is not easy for the poor.

Food consumption

Like health, measurements of food consumption contain some ambiguity since there is no unique prescribed balanced diet meaning nutritional status (Behrman 1991:86; Kurien 1982:190). Intake of calories (average per capita per day intake) is used widely in developing countries including Bangladesh as an alternative to income-based poverty measurement. The composition of a balanced diet is not only about calories and proteins, but also concerns costs and prices (Kurien 1982:191). Moreover, there are other important food attributes such as taste, status value and degree of processing (Behrman 1991:86). As the present study analyzes the achieved ways of life of migrants in the urban context, the purpose is not only concerned with the actual calorie intake, but also to examine the availability of some socially common nutrients over a period. These nutritional items have been chosen in considering both the economic and cultural context, and finally a food consumption index has been developed based on six components namely fish, eggs, meat, milk, sweets, and fruit in Section 6.1.

Table 6.3 points out that out of a maximum score of 24.0, on average households score 5.78. The disaggregated data reveal that fish was taken everyday by 19.3 per cent of households, whereas about 16 per cent of households consumed it either one day or no day

in a week. In considering the other five items, the consumption rates of eggs and meat are relatively better than milk, sweets and fruit, and the probable reason for this variation is that fish is often substituted by eggs and meat in meals. Nonetheless, data reveal that about 33 and 45 per cent of households did not consume eggs and meat at all during the seven days, while this figure is about 70 per cent for milk, fruit and sweets. Therefore, in considering the consumption rates of fish, eggs and meat, and the way they are substitutionally used in meals, the overall score 5.78 can be considered as a somewhat moderate score because about three items are consumed in some days of the week.

A significant variation in the food index is observed among the communities, as can be seen in Table 6.3. Although the economically poorest community (Bangabandhu) has the lowest food consumption score, the score does not vary between the other two communities according to their income condition. In examining the probable determinants of the variation in the food index, it is found that the score is correlated with household equivalent income ($r=0.28$ and $P<0.001$), and associated with HHs' occupations ($F=3.12$ and $P<0.001$). Surprisingly, despite having a low-income level, the garment worker headed households have scored the second highest 6.27 followed by petty businessmen with 6.93. This exceptional behaviour of garment workers is probably due to their relatively moderate educational attainment. In this respect, the binary analysis supports this argument by revealing that the consumption score is positively associated with heads' educational level ($F=7.65$ and $P<0.001$). These results imply that nutritional food consumption does not only depend on the affordability to households, but also influenced by the educational level of HHs to a great extent. Finally, it is interesting to find that the food consumption score varies significantly ($F= 3.99$ and $P<0.05$) between households according to their health status, as sickness free households have the highest mean score of 6.57 followed by households with acute sickness (5.60) and households with a chronic illness (5.29). This result can be interpreted in the way that absence of nutritional food items in the daily meals implies impairment in household member's capacity to do normal work in terms of chronic or acute sickness.

Summary

It seems that the household equivalent income has influenced the households' health status (apart from contraceptive use) including access to health care and nutritional food

consumption. Apart from this income, HHs' educational attainment has affected the use of family planning methods and having nutrients in the daily meals. Most importantly, despite having been the lowest income community, Bangabandhu has a better achievement than the other two communities in two dimensions of health status: contraceptive prevalence and child immunization. These better achievements might be an outcome of NGO programs since Bangabandhu has better access to NGO health programs. Finally, it can be summarized that *basti* dwellers' health and nutrition status are not only determined by income, but are also significantly affected by the characteristics of HHs and communities.

6.3.4 Physical environment

Like the ownership of consumer durables in households, physical environment reflects another important aspect of material well-being of *basti* dwellers, and in general, improvements in housing conditions can be viewed as indicative of economic development. Most importantly, the physical environment status provides some socio-economic stability to the urban poor (Wegelin 1994:202). The visual expression of physical settings in squatter settlements are so plain and obvious that the relationship between shelter-related factors and other indicators of the QOL is seldom explored in-depth (Pugh 1995:34). The present section, thus, investigates the level of physical settings in which poor migrants live, and the extent to which this level varies among households according to their socio-economic characteristics. In this research, physical environment refers to the structural quality of dwellings, overcrowding, and shelter-related urban basic services.

Structural quality of dwellings

A common feature of *basti* dwellings has been given in Section 3.4, and hence, more details are provided here to show the ways poor migrants are residing in Dhaka. Table 6.4 indicates that *kutcha* housing has been the common pattern of residence in *basti* although there are two other types of housing: *jhupri* and semi-pucca, which together comprise a total of only 12 per cent. But it is interesting to find that dwelling quality differs significantly among the *basti*, and in particular, Bangabandhu has a higher proportion of better quality housing than other communities. This variation might be associated with the ownership status of the dwellings, as Bangabandhu has a higher proportion of owners compared to other communities. Data reveal that the ownership of dwellings varies

between the communities, ranging from the highest proportion in Bangabandhu (91.9 per cent) to the lowest proportion in Jhilpar (29 per cent).

Table-6.4: Physical environment domain and its variation by three *basti*

Indicators	Name of *basti*			All	Number in sample
	Banga-bandhu	Daroger tak	Jhilpar		
Structural quality of dwelling (V=0.13**)					460
Jhupri	7.1	2.2	7.1	5.7	
Kutcha	79.8	91.2	89.7	88.0	
Semi-*pucca*	13.1	6.6	3.1	6.3	
Overcrowding (mean of number of household members per room) (F=9.62***)	4.03	4.06	3.37	3.72	460
Access to water and electricity facilities (mean of index) (F=494.30***)	1.93	1.84	0.49	1.20	460
Access to sanitation facilities (V=0.36***)					460
Hanging latrine (*kutcha*)	21.2	53.3	4.9	22.8	
Ring & slab latrine (semi-*pucca*)	76.8	41.6	92.9	74.1	
Septic tank (*pucca*)	2.0	5.1	2.2	3.0	
Access to garbage disposal facilities (V=0.41***)					460
No facility (throwing in the road)	20.2	71.5	54.0	52.0	
In some specific space	30.3	21.9	43.3	34.1	
In the municipal garbage bin	49.5	6.6	2.7	13.9	

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002
Note: a) **, and *** indicate P<0.01 and P<0.001 respectively.

Further binary analysis shows that the structural quality of housing is associated neither with the household equivalent income nor with HHs' educational level. As the structural quality of dwellings has been constructed as an ordinal variable (please see Table A5 of Appendix-A), the correlation test shows that both the duration of residence in Dhaka (r=0.10 and P<0.05) and current *basti* (r=0.09 and P<0.05) have a very weak positive impact on the quality of dwellings. These results suggest that the structural quality of dwellings does not differ according to the equivalent income or HHs' educational level due to the crucial factor that all these houses have been built illegally on government land and thus, the eviction threat discourages dwellers to develop their dwellings. The small differences found in the quality of dwellings reflect the collective impact of ownership and the duration in Dhaka or in the current *basti*.

Overcrowding

Overcrowding has been a major characteristic of squatter settlements around the world. Overcrowding is measured in this research not on the basis of the *basti* as a unit but with

the household as the unit. This is a measure of privacy within the household. Data specify that members of the household live in only one room in 80 per cent of cases, and 16.7 per cent of households have two rooms for their household members, while the remaining small proportion of households possesses three to four rooms. On average, a high number of household members (3.72) share one room as can be seen from Table 6.4, and this number is close to the average size of households (4.4). It can be argued from this result that this overcrowded living condition may not only have an adverse impact on the health conditions of household members, but it may also affect psychological well-being in terms of privacy and individuality.

Table 6.4 indicates that household crowdedness in Jhilpar is significantly lower than the other two *basti*, and this differentiation is mainly related to household size, which is significantly lower in Jhilpar than the other two communities. Overcrowding is moderately correlated ($r= -0.37$ and $P<0.001$) with equivalent income, and this relationship even exists within the communities. Similarly, HHs' educational attainment is significantly associated with crowdedness ($F=3.46$ and $P<0.05$), showing a highest level of overcrowding (3.94) for the never attended group to a lowest level (2.89) for heads who have passed SSC or higher education. This may be due to advanced sense of privacy among the more educated heads. In contrast, the binary analysis reveals that household crowdedness does not differ according to the length of stay in Dhaka or in the current community.

Access to basic services

In general, urban services comprise water supply, sewerage, drainage, flood protection, solid waste collection and disposal, local roads, street lighting and traffic management. All these services, in greater or lesser degree, can be considered to be shelter related (Wegelin 1994:204). In the case of this research, four basic urban amenities are explored to examine the level of access to these amenities and how this access is determined. First, the provision of water and electricity supply is examined, and it should be remembered that the water is supplied through the water points as mentioned in Section 3.4. An index has been developed in Section 6.1 to measure the level of access to water and electricity. Table 6.4 indicates that the average score of this index is 1.20, meaning that every household has access to a little over one service. It is surprising to observe that despite having the highest equivalent income, households in Jhilpar have the lowest access to these services, and

Bangabandhu shows the reverse. Hence, a negative association is found between equivalent income and this index ($r = -0.14$ and $P<0.01$). Analyses based on each community reveal that access to these services does not differ according to equivalent income or HHs' educational level, rather a weak correlation is found with the length of stay in current community but not in Bangabandhu. It has a community-based organization (CBO), which supplies water and electricity legally to the dwellers as noted in Section 4.1, and therefore, the level of access in this community is high.

Second, with regard to sanitation facilities, it can be seen from Table 6.4 that one-fifth of households do not have access to a toilet facility of any kind since they use hanging latrines, and the remaining households have some sort of hygienic toilet mainly semi-*pucca* founded with rings and a slab. The sanitation facilities in *basti* are far below the overall level of urban areas in Bangladesh because 35.1 per cent of urban residences have access to a septic tank and only 4.6 per cent of households either use a hanging latrine or are without any facility (NIPORT et al. 2001:17). Hanging latrines can be considered as a major source of health and environmental hazards in *basti*. Table 6.4 indicates that household access to sanitation facilities moderately differs among the communities, with Jhilpar having the best level of access to hygienic facilities, while Bangabandhu and Daroger tak have a moderate and poor level of access to hygienic facilities respectively. Qualitative data reveal that *Proshika* (NGO) has provided ring and slab latrines to its group members in Jhilpar under a loan scheme paid in instalments through the group, and hence, this community has a better access to hygienic latrine facilities. Further bivariate analysis shows that sanitation facilities[72] are positively correlated ($r=0.23$ and $P<0.001$) with household equivalent income, and are also positively associated with the HHs' educational attainment ($v=0.14$ and $P<0.01$). If Jhilpar is excluded, the former relationship exists among the households of Bangabandhu and Daroger tak while the latter becomes non-significant. These results suggest that affordability is a major factor determining households' latrine facilities.

Finally, more than half of the households do not have access to household garbage disposal facilities of any kind, as can be seen from the Table 6.4. These households, in general, throw the garbage around their dwellings. Often a group of neighbours comes together to

[72] Household sanitation facility has been made an ordinal variable in Table A5 of Appendix A.

identify a specific place in order to solve disposal problems, and in this case, an abandoned burrow is generally chosen for garbage disposal place so that it is filled up as well. Data show that 34.1 per cent of households use this type of defined place for disposing of garbage, while less than 14 per cent of households have access to specific bins provided by the city corporation. It can be seen from Table 6.4 that Bangabandhu significantly differs from the other two *basti* in terms of better garbage disposal facilities. As a general principle, this disposal facility depends on the local government (i.e. the city corporation). In the absence of a city service, garbage disposal systems may be facilitated by the community. In the case of this analysis, it can be argued that Bangabandhu is better served by the city corporation. While this is true, participation observation suggests that dwellers of this community are also encouraged by the *basti* committee to use specific spaces for garbage disposal.

Summary

It can be summarized from the above analysis that despite the lowest household equivalent income, the Bangabandhu community achieves a better physical environment than the other two communities. This achievement is largely due to the integrity of the community through their participation in the community organization.

6.3.5 Social environment

The social surroundings are a major concern in measuring the quality of *basti* life because social settings in which poor migrants live are different from the rest of the urban society in many ways. Poor migrants are, to a great extent, acted upon by others such as government, community leaders and local *mastans* (strongmen) because these poor migrants are not in a legal territorial unit, which can provide the moral backing to express either their needs or desires. Therefore, this research focuses on the social aspects of *basti* life to examine how *basti* life is facilated or interrupted by government, NGOs and local *mastans*. The social environment domain is measured in this research in terms of recreational activities, security, and participation in social organizations.

Leisure and recreation

Measurement of recreational or leisure activities is limited to only HHs, and these activities are determined by the ways respondents spend their spare time. Table 6.5 reveals that apart

from watching television there is no other such activities, which can be seen as a source of excitement or fun from a recreational point of view. Watching television does not mean that the concerned household possesses a television set. It is a common culture in *basti* that many dwellers watch television at a neighbour's home because there are no welfare clubs, where common people can watch television or do leisure activities. From the categories of leisure and recreation in Table 6.5, it can be concluded that there are no opportunities in *basti* to utilize leisure time, and consequently, this time is spent mainly in gossiping and sleeping. In addition, qualitative data suggest that recreational activities are limited by the vulnerable law and order situation because people do not move freely in *basti*. Although the existence of some clubs in *basti* has been documented in Table 4.1, these clubs are mainly controlled by the local *mastans* or politically motivated people, and therefore, to avoid any unnecessary harassment common people do not go to these clubs.

Table-6.5: Social environment domain and its variation by three *basti*

Characteristics	Name of *basti*			All	Number in sample
	Banga-bandhu	Daroger tak	Jhilpar		
Leisure and recreation (V=0.25***)					460
Gossiping	18.2	40.9	18.3	25.0	
Sleeping/doing nothing	25.3	12.4	23.2	20.4	
Watching TV	5.1	16.8	11.2	11.5	
Spending time with kids	11.1	6.6	5.8	7.2	
Praying to the God	4.0	5.8	10.7	7.8	
Walking repeatedly	4.0	3.6	5.4	4.6	
Others (playing games, visiting relatives/friends etc)	7.1	8.8	7.6	7.8	
No time for recreation	25.3	5.1	17.9	15.7	
Eviction threat (V=0.18**)					460
Never experienced	94.9	85.4	96.0	92.6	
Ever experienced	5.1	14.6	4.0	7.4	
Security in terms of crime and violence (V=0.14**)					460
Good	61.6	70.1	69.2	67.8	
Poor	31.3	17.5	17.0	20.2	
Very poor	3.0	6.6	11.6	8.3	
Don't know	4.0	5.8	2.2	3.7	
Participation in social organizations (V=0.13*)					460
No	56.6	71.5	71.0	68.0	
Yes	43.4	28.5	29.0	32.0	

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: a) *, **, *** indicate P<0.05, P<0.01 and P<0.001 respectively.
b) [a] indicates that significant level of association is not given due to the fact that the cross-tabulation shows more than 20 per cent cells that have expected frequencies less than 5.

The distribution of activities among the three *basti* shows that HHs of Bangabandhu are the most deprived group in recreational activities since a lower proportion of them watch

television, but a higher proportion of them have no time for recreation compared to the heads of the other two communities. This variation might be the result of Bangabandhu's poor economic condition.

Security

The term security is used here in relation to the freedom of movement of poor migrants in surrounding areas and the vulnerability of the existence of the *basti*. Threat of eviction is measured according to the respondents' experiences in this regard, and data presented in Table 6.5 show that more than 7 per cent of respondents have already been evicted from an earlier settlement, and every community has some evicted households. About 82 per cent of these households were evicted by the government, while landlords or local *mastans* evicted the remaining households. Information collected from the long-term dwellers in Daroger tak suggests that some dwellings were demolished by the government in the early '90s, and later they re-settled there. As a result, a significantly higher proportion of evicted households is found in this *basti* compared to others.

With regard to the safety of life, respondents were asked to provide their subjective evaluation on the level of neighbourhood security in terms of crime and violence. As can be seen from Table 6.5, nearly 68 per cent of respondents think that the neighbourhood security condition is good, while 28.5 per cent evaluated the situation as either poor or very poor. It can be also seen that neighbourhood security conditions varies among the *basti*, and according to the respondents' perception, the worst condition prevails in surrounding areas of Bangabandhu. Female labour force participation in Bangabandhu is affected by this situation as mentioned in Section 6.3.1. However, the overall neighbourhood security condition appears to be surprisingly good considering the general view of security and violence in *basti* discussed in Section 3.3. Therefore, this neighbourhood security condition was re-examined in-depth through FGDs, LHs and informal discussion with dwellers.

These qualitative data indicate that the safety of life in *basti* is more vulnerable than the quantitative data suggest. Qualitative data suggest that the neighbourhood security is particularly a major threat to women's movements. While male participants in FGDs generally identified toll as the main threat, women participants mentioned different types of harm. Among these, two common experiences are cited here to understand the nature and

depth of harms that can take place in *basti*. First, a participant (P2) of the female focus group in Bangabandhu described the threat that she received from the local *mastans* regarding her daughter.

> I am living in this *basti* and naturally my daughter (unmarried) should be here with me. But I cannot keep her with me because the threat of *mastans*. My daughter is pretty, and I am scared about the *mastans*, as they can take her away anytime. In such a situation, I am residing here.

Second, another female participant (P8) of the female focus group in Jhilpar stated her experience when she was charged by the local mastans.

> Just a couple of days ago I was coming back to my house with my husband after visiting my uncle. Some boys obstructed our way over there (in the *basti*) and questioned who was with me. See, it was my husband with me, if it was another relation other than my husband, they would ask for money.

In considering the overall law and order situation in Dhaka city, it might be argued that the examples cited above might occur to *mahalla* dwellers too. So why should this security concern be taken into account separately for *basti*? In this respect, the common response from participants of FGDs should be revealed here. According to these participants, whenever something happens to *basti* dwellers, they cannot protest because they are living in *basti,* which are perceived as areas dense with thieves, hijackers and anti-social activities by the rest of the urban society or more specifically public organizations. If anyone wants to protest, he/she will put his/her life at risk. Therefore, poor migrants are powerless and helpless to protect themselves or protest against any wrongdoings.

Participation in social organizations

Basti dwellers are aware of their general negative image in the rest of the urban society, and they can perceive that there is little they can do to change it. Nonetheless, this research is interested in examining alternative choices that the urban society offers. In this regard, participation in social organizations is examined. As mentioned in Section 1.7, mainly two types of social organizations are examined in this research: group-based organizations (i.e. NGO groups and dwellers' own associations) and CBOs. In this regard, it should be noted that Bangabandhu community has a CBO, and all households of this community have participated in this CBO without any form of membership of the organizations. But

participation in group-based organizations occurs in the form of membership, and hence, this type of participation is examined here. Table 6.5 reveals that 32 per cent of households are involved in group-based organizations, and data show that 87 per cent of these households have only one member involved in organizations while the remaining households have two or three members. In respect to the types[73] of organizations, nearly 80 per cent of households participate in NGO groups, while the remaining households are involved in dwellers' own associations. About half of own associations are operated in the concerned *basti*, and the other half of associations are operated somewhere else because these associations include members from other areas of the city. However, the important point is that all are basically credit-oriented organizations. Therefore, households are either received credit or nothing; while a very small proportion of households have received other assistance such as rice, milk and clothes, which are mainly provided during a time of crisis, like a flood.

Table 6.5 suggests that Bangabandhu has a higher level of participation in group-based organizations than other the two communities which have almost the level. These differences in participation are related to the question of the accessibility to organizations and who participates in organizations. This has been a great concern in the evaluation of development programs as mentioned in Section 1.2. Selectivity in participation will be examined in the following Chapter, but it must be mentioned here that differences in participation between the communities are, to some extent, influenced by the NGO's choice of targeting a *basti* because of the possibility of eviction. However, while participation in credit organizations is considered to be an opportunity for the poor migrants to improve their well-being, the above analysis suggests that this opportunity has been available only to a small proportion of households (22 per cent) who have received the credit to improve their livelihoods.

Summary

Poor migrants in *basti* are helpless because they are aware that they live in an illegal settlement. Migrants' lives are jeopardized by both the external (eviction) and internal

[73] In the case of multiple participants of a household, generally all members participate in the same type of organization (either NGO groups or own associations). Only in two cases, participants of the household participate in both types of organizations, and these two households are categorized into NGO groups due to the simple fact that this research mainly examines the impact of NGO interventions.

(local *mastans*) threats. In addition, the eviction threat limits the opportunities for *basti* dwellers because the organizers fear to contribute anything since it would be at risk at eviction. The social settings in *basti* communities provide very little option for participation in improving the QOL. Participatory activities are basically group based credit schemes rather than education, health or physical environment improvement schemes, apart from the water and electricity supply project in Bangabandhu.

6.4 *Subjective evaluation*

In Section 2.2, this research has conceptualized the measurement of QOL with both objective and subjective components. The latter component refers to respondents' perceptions or subjective evaluations of their life cycle changes. It is the evaluation of the degree of fulfilment of desires and aspirations as determined by the person himself or herself (Oberg and Gallopin 1992:5). From the standpoint of poor migrants' satisfaction, it is less important to determine their satisfaction with achievements compared to the overall urban conditions since poor migrants are living in *basti* and subsequently, the level of satisfaction is influenced by the objective conditions in the nearby *mahalla* environment. It is, therefore, crucial to measure the migrants' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with achieved life compared to their pre-migration conditions to examine whether they have improved their situations through movement. Respondents were asked to evaluate their present conditions in terms of household income, consumer durables, food consumption and housing quality compared to the conditions immediately before migrating to Dhaka. The interesting point is that although respondents were asked to evaluate their progress on four specific aspects of life, they automatically took a wider consideration to evaluate these aspects of life. For instance, respondents evaluated their housing conditions in relation to size, number of rooms, how well built the structure was, and accessibility to water and sanitation facilities. Similarly, respondents evaluated their income condition in taking into account other economic constraints, for example, debts. Reported progress on every aspect of life is measured on a 3-point scale, and then an index has been developed on the basis of four aspects of life as set out in Section 6.1. This index can be taken as an overall measure of progress in life as a whole.

Table-6.6: Respondents' self-assessed progress in Dhaka compared to pre-migration situations in the place of origin by three *basti*

Indicators	Name of *basti*			All	Number in sample
	Banga-bandhu	Daroger tak	Jhilpar		
Household income (V=0.15**)					460
Worse off	22.2	7.3	8.9	11.3	
Same	11.1	11.7	6.3	8.9	
Better off	66.7	81.0	84.8	79.8	
Household durables (V=0.18***)					460
Worse off	29.3	22.6	33.5	29.3	
Same	15.2	11.7	27.7	20.2	
Better off	55.6	65.7	38.8	50.4	
Household food consumption (V=0.12**)					460
Worse off	27.3	11.7	16.1	17.2	
Same	9.1	4.4	7.6	7.0	
Better off	63.6	83.9	76.3	75.9	
Housing conditions (V=0.18***)					460
Worse off	38.3	40.1	56.3	47.6	
Same	13.1	4.4	13.4	10.7	
Better off	48.5	55.5	30.4	41.7	
Mean score of progress index in four aspects of life (F=7.38**)	1.17	2.04	1.15	1.42	460

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002
Note: a) ** and *** indicate P<0.01 and P<0.001 respectively.

Table 6.6 reveals that more than three-fourth of respondents think that their household income and diet in everyday meals has improved as a result of migration, but in the case of household durables, progress is perceived by only a little over than half of the respondents. A relatively higher level of dissatisfaction is found in the current housing conditions compared to other three aspects of life because nearly 50 per cent of respondents evaluated that their housing conditions were better in the place of origin. The perceived progress in every aspect of life differs significantly across the three communities. In particular, Jhilpar shows the highest proportion of households who have progressed in income but lowest in durables and housing conditions among the three communities. If these variations in progress are compared with the objective indicators of household equivalent income and durables (Table 6.1), food consumption (Table 6.3) and housing structural quality (Table 6.4), respondents' evaluations can be considered very consistent with the level of their achievements. This is a positive indication of the validity of subjective evaluations, even in the case of impoverished people.

With regard to overall progress, the index suggests that migrant households have made moderate progress in their QOL through the migration decision, as the mean score of the

index is 1.42 compared to the maximum score of 4.0. Data show that only 5.7 per cent of respondents think that their situation is worse off in all four aspects of life, while progress in all four was reported by 26.1 per cent of respondents. Among the three *basti*, respondents in Daroger tak show a higher level of progress than the other two communities both of which have the same success level. In examining variation among households, it is found that the progress index score is neither statistically associated with household equivalent income nor with HHs' age, sex, education and occupation. But the level of progress appears to be related to both the length of stay in Dhaka ($r=0.14$ and $P<0.01$) and in the current *basti* ($r=0.27$ and $P<0.001$). However, the important point is that every community shows a positive sign of progress in their life through the migration decision. Finally, it is apparent that migrants' overall progress in life cycles through migration is not related to the households' economic conditions or their heads' characteristics, rather this progress is achieved with time. More specifically, the duration of stay in the current *basti* emerges as a more important factor than the duration of stay in Dhaka in the overall progress.

6.5 *Overview of differences between basti*

The analysis of the five domains of urban life in *basti* by communities in section 6.3 shows that Jhilpar has achieved the highest equivalent income, but this community has the lowest level of achievements in children's education, housing structural quality, and access to water and electricity. In contrast, Bangabandhu, which comprises the longest-term migrants among the three communities, has the best access to most urban basic amenities, children's educational attainment, contraceptive prevalence and children's immunization, but it appears to be the economically poorest community. In the case of Daroger tak, although some achievements, namely children immunization coverage, and access to sanitation and garbage disposal facilities have been found to be at the lowest level, the overall achievements of this community appear to be better than the other two communities. The subjective measure based on respondents' self-assessed evaluation on four aspects of life has confirmed this variation in the level of achievement between the three communities.

Three plausible explanations can be drawn for this variation between the communities. First, Jhilpar's better economic achievements are mainly influenced by the advanced

characteristics of HHs along with the higher number of their household earners. As the flow of regular monetary remittances is higher in this community than in other two communities documented in Table 5.6, it might be argued that remittances lower the level of other aspects of life. But it is found that household composition in Jhilpar is similar to other communities in that almost all households are based on nuclear family organization (Section 4.3.1), and hence, remittances mainly go to the parents in the place of origin as discussed in Section 5.7. Therefore, it can be assumed that remittances may not be large enough to greatly affect other aspects of life. Rather, the important point is that Jhilpar is a part of a big settlement named Karail *basti* (Section 4.1), and no community-based committee was found in Jhilpar, which serves for an integrated community effort to improve their livelihoods. No NGOs were found to be involved in physical or social development projects, apart from some NGO informal schools and limited sanitation facilities provided by Proshika. The quality of NGO schools in this *basti* is far below that of the Shurovi and UCEP operated schools in the other two *basti*. Consequently, the achievements of the poor migrants in this community rely on the individual or household level resources.

Second, migrants improve their conditions over time (Browning 1971 cited in Corno 1983:144, 166), and indeed, Bangabandhu, the community with the longest mean length of residence, achieved better progress in some aspects of life compared to the other communities. But it should be remembered that the current Bangabandhu *basti* was established later than both Jhilpar and Daroger tak as mentioned in Table 4.1, and this differentiation suggests that dwellers in Bangabandhu have had the shortest time to improve their physical conditions. The underlying fact is that the *basti* committee plays an active role in mobilizing dwellers for collective action to improve livelihoods. As mentioned in Section 4.1, houses in this *basti* were built in a systematic way and every household is numbered, and in the context of unauthorized settlements, this systematic community behaviour shows a high level of commitment towards achievement of a better life for all. Due to this commitment, it has been possible to form the CBO with the help of an NGO, PSTC, to run the water supply project. Once the CBO was formed, it ran the electricity supply project by its own effort. The organization of people not only facilitates the development of basic aspects of life, for example, housing, but also provides an opportunity to develop people's consciousness about other aspects of their living conditions

(Choguill 1996:435). In the case of Bangabandhu community, apart from the water and electricity projects, the *basti* committee in the form of the CBO have provided a strong influence to improve some other aspects of life such as garbage disposal and maintainance of a mosque. In addition, what was observed through the FGDs in this *basti* is that dwellers had a positive approach to taking other opportunities provided by other NGOs. For instance, UCEP and Marie Stopes now run the school and health centre respectively. This type of approach can be considered as an outcome of the active participation in the CBO.

Third, the overall better achievements of Daroger tak might be a result of a combination of factors. For instance, Daroger tak is oldest *basti* in age among the three, and subsequently, some infrastructure development (road and drainage) was undertaken by DCC as noted in Table 4.1. In addition, residence in this community has been more stable than in the other *basti.* The proportions of households residing in the same community since migration are 0.45, 0.32 and 0.04 for Daroger tak, Jhilpar and Bangabandhu respectively. Moreover, migrants to Daroger tak have received stronger support than those in the other two communities (see Section 5.6), and this support is likely to help the newcomers to adjust to the new urban environment. Furthermore, locational differences can make a contribution to living standards (Atkinson 1975: 191 cited in Brownlee 1990:2), and the location of Daroger tak is an advantage in terms of communication, job opportunities and access to different services. On the other hand, a number of NGOs have been working in this *basti* for a long time, and among them, particularly World Vision and Plan International have undertaken social development programs rather than credit programs. Although World Vision has withdrawn its programs, Plan International still continues its education and childcare programs in collaboration with Shurovi School and the community (but not in the form of CBO like Bangabandhu). Hence, with time dwellers of this *basti* have been beneficiaries of approaches to improve their QOL.

6.6 *Multivariate analysis for the determinants of achievements*

It seems, therefore, that while achievements are likely to be determined by the individual or household characteristics in Jhilpar, the social settings of the community influence some achievements in the other two *basti.* In other words, a wide range of factors namely individual, household and community affect the level of achievement of poor migrants.

These three types of characteristics have been shown to have an influence on the QOL through the binary analysis in Sections 6.3 and 6.4. However, the important point is that these factors are often correlated to each other. Therefore, the aim of this section is to find out the independent effects of these factors.

In this respect, Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA)[74] is used. The MCA estimates the quantitative effect of each category of an independent variable separately expressed as deviations from the grand mean of the dependent variable. As the interest of this present research is to examine the impact of organizational interventions along with other (individual, household and community) characteristics in improving the QOL, an additive model is designed based on those characteristics to show the significant ways in which the QOL varies among households.

Variables in the analysis

A total of 23 indicators under five domains of urban life have been examined in Section 6.3 to show the objective level of achieved life of migrants as a consequence of migration. In addition, a set of five subjective indicators has been analyzed in the following section to determine the progress in achievements compared to the place of origin. As a result, a number of indicators can be considered as dependent variables in the multivariate analysis to show the differences in the QOL among the migrated households. Five indicators are selected as dependent variables, given the importance of basic aspects of life in relation to the motives of poverty-induced migration and the interests of the present research. These selected indicators are household equivalent income, household durable index, household food consumption index, HHs' health knowledge index, and the self-assessed progress index.

The reason for the selection of HHs' health knowledge is that it has been found in Section 6.3.2 that this knowledge is influenced by a combination of factors such as educational attainment, and the role of media and NGOs. Because this research looks at the role of organizational interventions (NGOs), this knowledge index is selected. Similarly, the index on self-assessed progress on four aspects of life is selected because this index seems to be

[74] The method of this technique has been discussed in Section 4.7

an overall life cycle change measure from a multidimensional point of view (see Section 6.4). Use of this index also enables an examinination of the consistency of results with those for the objective variables, as in the binary analysis. While some indicators, such as children's school attendance and access to basic amenities can be considered to be very basic aspects of life, through the binary analysis these two aspects have appeared to be community variables because individuals can do very little to change their status which apparently relies on public services or NGO programs.

Another important point is taken into account in the selection of the dependent variables, and this point is to examine that dependent indicators are not closely correlated to each other. If they are closely correlated, the results ultimately will be based on the same dimension of achievements rather than being multidimensional. In this respect, the Pearson correlation statistics in Table 6.7 shows that although some indicators are significantly correlated to each other, the correlation is weak ($r<0.30$) in every case. This weak correlation is expected because people's socio-economic conditions interact in many ways. Since these five indicators are not strongly or even moderately correlated to each other, it can be assumed that the multivariate analysis is not investigating only one dimension of achievement.

Table-6.7: Correlations between the dependents variables introduced in the MCA additive model

	Equivalent income	Durable index	Food consumption	HHs' health knowledge index	Progress index
Equivalent income	NA	0.15**	0.28***	0.23***	0.03^{ns}
Durable index		NA	0.29***	0.17***	0.29***
Food consumption			NA	0.08^{ns}	0.15**
HHs' health knowledge index				NA	0.02^{ns}
Progress index					NA

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002
Note: a) *, **, ***, ns indicate $P<0.05$, $P<0.01$, $P<0.001$ and Not Significant respectively.
b) NA indicates Not Applicable

The independent variables are selected from a wide range of characteristics: individual, household and community. These variables are introduced in the MCA additive model to determine the extent to which each variable separately affects each aspect of *basti* life, when all independent variables are considered together in relation to a dependent variable.

Individual characteristics are chosen only on the basis of HHs' characteristics due to the fact that they were not only the main decision maker for the movement, but also they have become the main earner of the households in the destination as mentioned in Section 6.3.1. Five characteristics namely age, sex, education, occupation, and migration status in terms of recent and long-term migrants are selected. Migration status is introduced with the argument that poor migrants, who come from rural backgrounds, having had little exposure to an urban way of life, are more likely to be in an initially disadvantaged position.

In selecting the household variables, it has been found in Section 6.3.1 that the number of wage earners in the household is the important determinant of the household equivalent income. In addition, women's labour force participation contributes significantly to the household equivalent income but they are discriminated against in wage-payments. Therefore, based on these facts, the composition of earners in the household in terms of number and sex is developed. Another household variable is the status of household involvement in group-based organizations (i.e NGO groups and dwellers' own associations). This status has already been considered as an indicator of the social environment domain of the QOL in Section 6.3.5. However, the particular interest of this research is to examine whether the level of achievement of poor migrants can be a function of their household involvement in group-based credit organizations.

Two community-related variables are introduced in the model. The first one is the *basti* itself due to the heterogeneity of communities not only in terms of characteristics of HHs, but also some fundamental differences in the social settings discussed above. Second, in some cases of the binary analysis, the length of residence in the current *basti* appears more important than the length of stay in Dhaka.

Finally, a limitation of the MCA technique is that independent variables should not be highly correlated with each other because the results can be distorted by interactions. Nonetheless, if certain interactions occur, one can use a combined variable to overcome this limitation (Andrews et al. 1973:11, 20). A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) is used in conjunction with this MCA additive model to detect interactions among the independent variables. It was found that only HHs' sex and educational attainment interacted with each other ($F=7.10$ and $P<0.001$). Therefore, these two characteristics are

transformed into a combined variable. Because no other significant interaction appear between the independent variables, the effect of each variable on the dependent variable is additive and can be assessed separately. The descriptions of independent variables are presented in Table A6 of Appendix –A.

Results and interpretations

Results of five MCA analyses for five dependent variables are presented in Table 6.8 in the form of five statistics namely unadjusted effects, adjusted effects, beta, R^2 and the significance level. Unadjusted effects show the effect of each independent variable before taking into account the effects of all other variables. In contrast, the adjusted effects reveal the effect of each independent variable on the dependent variable after adjusting (controlling) for effects of all other variables, and subsequently, these are the net effects of the independent variables. Both the unadjusted and adjusted effects are expressed as deviations from the grand mean of the dependent variable, and the adjusted (or unadjusted) mean would be the grand mean plus the deviation of the respective category mean.

The beta co-efficient measures the relative importance of each independent variable in competition with the others. The general concept is that the greater the beta value for an independent variable, the greater the deviation between categories of that variable, ultimately showing the impact of that variable on the dependent variable compared to other independent variables. On the other hand, R^2 indicates the adjusted contribution by all independent variables together to explaining the variance of the dependent variable, and it can be seen that the value of R^2 is relatively low (ranging from 0.15 to 0.24). The aim of using the MCA technique is not to develop a model that explains the highest level of variance of the dependent variable but rather to examine the extent to which each dependent variable (aspect of life) varies among the households according to their characteristics (independent variables). In this regard, the important point is that the total amount of explained variance of the dependent variable contributed by the independent variables is statistically significant at the 0.00 level. This result implies that the model is able to reveal the variation of dependent variables across the categories of independent variables when these variables are considered together.

Table-6.8: Summary of results from the Multiple Classification Analysis

Independent variables	Dependent variables					
	Household equivalent income Grand mean =1233.36 (Taka)			Household durables index Grand mean =3.16		
	Unadjusted effects	Adjusted effects	Beta	Unadjusted effects	Adjusted effects	Beta
HHs' age (yrs)			**0.17***			**0.09** ns
Less than 30	251.03	185.67		-0.22	0.14	
30-39	58.61	33.66		0.03	0.17	
40-49	-124.06	-86.22		0.17	-0.09	
50+	-201.88	-140.44		-0.04	-0.32	
HHs' sex and education			**0.11** ns			**0.21****
Male never attended school	-64.86	-91.02		-0.15	-0.13	
Male with formal education	167.62	68.19		0.33	0.39	
Female never attended school	-430.01	-6.12		-0.51	-0.89	
Female with formal education	-25.71	73.64		-0.98	-0.69	
HHs' occupations			**0.20****			**0.18****
Petty business	21.48	33.00		0.51	0.21	
Rickshaw pulling	83.37	54.36		-0.33	-0.48	
Different services	71.98	-98.09		0.01	0.19	
Semi-skilled works	306.43	241.03		0.42	0.35	
Others (mainly daily labour job)	-270.28	-127.17		-0.83	-0.42	
Unemployed	-460.64	-272.66		0.29	0.65	
HHs' migration status			**0.02** ns			**0.10***
Recent migrants	71.84	-12.23		-0.33	-0.16	
Long-term migrants	-118.09	20.11		0.55	0.26	
Composition of earners in household			**0.21*****			**0.05** ns
Only one male	-32.66	-79.75		0.11	-0.07	
Only one female	-642.21	-437.21		-1.01	-0.30	
2 or more but all males	28.15	73.96		0.35	0.17	
2 or more including females	121.54	126.93		-0.06	0.07	
Household involved in organization			**0.18*****			**0.13****
No	-73.49	-86.40		-0.30	-0.19	
Yes	156.48	183.97		0.64	0.41	
Current living *basti*			**0.19*****			**0.18****
Bangabandhu	-271.76	-236.56		0.22	0.51	
Daroger tak	-66.83	9.36		0.77	0.26	
Jhilpar	160.98	98.82		-0.55	-0.39	
Length of stay in current *basti* (yrs)			**0.14***			**0.25*****
Less than 5	172.09	143.66		-0.84	-0.65	
5 - <10	-57.31	-52.79		0.04	0.04	
10 or more	-123.40	-91.22		1.16	0.88	
R^2			**0.25**			**0.24**

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: *, **, *** and ns indicate P<0.05, P<0.01, P<0.001 and Not Significant (P>0.05) respectively.

Table-6.8: (continued)

Independent variables	Dependent variables					
	Household food consumption index, Grand mean =5.78			Head's health knowledge index Grand mean =3.43		
	Unadjust-ed effects	Adjusted effects	Beta	Unadjust-ed effects	Adjusted effects	Beta
HHs' age (yrs)			**0.15***			**0.06** ns
Less than 30	0.98	0.73		0.20	0.04	
30-39	0.12	0.17		0.07	0.09	
40-49	-0.84	-0.80		-0.11	-0.11	
50+	-0.15	0.00		-0.18	-0.05	
HHs' sex and education			**0.18****			**0.23*****
Male never attended school	-0.49	-0.53		-0.21	-0.20	
Male with formal education	0.60	0.55		0.33	0.27	
Female never attended school	-1.22	-0.84		-0.80	-0.60	
Female with formal education	1.46	1.20		0.63	0.63	
HHs' occupations			**0.18****			**0.17***
Petty business	1.15	0.92		-0.16	-0.21	
Rickshaw pulling	-0.07	-0.06		-0.01	-0.06	
Different services	-0.06	-0.55		0.49	0.34	
Semi-skilled works	-0.11	-0.04		0.48	0.33	
Others (mainly daily labour job)	-1.55	-0.96		-0.47	-0.26	
Unemployed	0.08	0.32		-0.27	0.14	
HHs' migration status			**0.08** ns			**0.08** ns
Recent migrants	0.19	0.23		0.01	-0.09	
Long-term migrants	-0.32	-0.38		-0.02	0.15	
Composition of earners in household			**0.06** ns			**0.11** ns
Only one male	0.19	0.02		0.06	-0.03	
Only one female	-0.39	0.82		-0.75	-0.44	
2 or more but all males	-0.13	-0.26		0.27	0.31	
2 or more including females	-0.10	-0.07		-0.03	0.01	
Household involved in organization			**0.13****			**0.11***
No	-0.24	-0.30		-0.15	-0.11	
Yes	0.50	0.65		0.32	0.23	
Current living *basti*			**0.29*****			**0.12** ns
Bangabandhu	-1.30	-0.94		0.17	0.25	
Daroger tak	1.45	1.51		-0.37	-0.22	
Jhilpar	-0.31	-0.51		0.15	0.03	
Length of stay in current *basti* (yrs)			**0.02** ns			**0.07** ns
Less than 5	-0.17	-0.05		0.19	0.13	
5 - <10	-0.41	-0.01		0.05	-0.02	
10 or more	1.23	0.10		-0.40	-0.15	
R^2			**0.21**			**0.17**

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: *, **, *** and ns indicate P<0.05, P<0.01, P<0.001 and Not Significant (P>0.05) respectively.

Table-6.8: (continued)

Independent variables	Dependent variables Progress index, Grand mean=1.42		
	Unadjusted effects	Adjusted effects	Beta
HHs' age (yrs)			**0.02** ns
Less than 30	-0.29	-0.01	
30-39	-0.09	-0.02	
40-49	0.07	-0.05	
50+	0.37	0.11	
HHs' sex and education			**0.09** ns
Male never attended school	0.17	0.07	
Male with formal education	-0.03	-0.14	
Female never attended school	-0.04	0.44	
Female with formal education	-1.13	-0.39	
HHs' occupations			**0.15** ns
Petty business	0.43	0.32	
Rickshaw pulling	-0.27	-0.32	
Different services	0.19	0.35	
Semi-skilled works	0.09	0.18	
Others (mainly daily labour job)	-0.25	-0.11	
Unemployed	-0.56	-0.75	
HHs' migration status			**0.02** ns
Recent migrants	-0.19	-0.04	
Long-term migrants	0.32	0.06	
Composition of earners in household			**0.17****
Only one male	-0.22	-0.17	
Only one female	-1.25	-1.27	
2 or more but all males	0.65	0.48	
2 or more including females	0.23	0.23	
Household involved in organization			**0.12****
No	-0.24	-0.19	
Yes	0.52	0.41	
Current living *basti*			**0.03** ns
Bangabandhu	-0.25	0.01	
Daroger tak	0.62	-0.11	
Jhilpar	-0.27	0.06	
Length of stay in current *basti* (yrs)			**0.28*****
Less than 5	-0.61	-0.48	
5 - <10	-0.12	-0.21	
10 or more	1.20	1.23	
R^2			**0.15**

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: *, **, *** and ns indicate P<0.05, P<0.01, P<0.001 and Not Significant (P>0.05) respectively.

According to the above understanding of statistics, Table 6.8 suggests that the household equivalent income varies significantly (P<0.001) and to a greater extent on the basis of the number of earners and their sex, as the beta (0.21) for the composition of earners is higher than all other variables. The adjusted effect suggests that households with only one female earner have the lowest equivalent income (Tk1233.36-437.21=796.15), while this income becomes highest (Tk 1233.36+126.93=1360.29) for a household if it has two or more earners including female workers. As the beta value of the HHs' occupational status is

close to the composition of earners (0.20 vs. 0.21), the equivalent income varies at almost the same extent among the households according to their heads' occupations. The adjusted effects show that households headed by semi-skilled earners seem to have the highest household equivalent income (Tk 241.03 higher than the grand mean), and, as expected, households with unemployed heads achieve the lowest equivalent income (Tk 460.64 less than the grand mean). This household equivalent income difference according to the occupational categories of households is statistically significant at less than the one per cent level.

Table 6.8 also shows that this equivalent income varies significantly between the communities (beta=0.19) and according to the length of residence in the current community (beta=0.14), but the HHs' length of stay in Dhaka has an almost zero-order (beta=0.02 and P>0.05) impact on the equivalent income. These results support the earlier findings, in which it was argued that Jhilpar's better equivalent income level is a result of the more advanced characteristics of recent arrivals. After controlling for all independent variables, it can be concluded that recent migrants have done relatively well in income achievement than the long-term migrants, and thus, there is no significant differentiation between these two groups of migrants.

Moreover, it appears that equivalent income differs significantly between households according to their organizational involvement and the HHs' age. In the latter case, adjusted effects suggest that the equivalent income decreases as the HHs' age increases. This occurs because about 40 per cent of heads are employed in occupations based on totally physical strength such as Rickshaw pulling and daily casual labour. Although the equivalent income does not vary significantly according to HHs' sex and education (beta=0.11 and P>0.05), the adjusted effect still shows some differences. So it can be concluded that household equivalent income varies to a greater extent among the categories of the composition of household earners followed by heads' occupations, the current community of residence, households' involvement in organizations, heads' age and the length of stay in the current community.

Results presented in Table 6.8 reveal that the length of stay in the current community has the largest impact (beta=0.25) on the household durable index followed by heads' age and

sex, their occupations and the current community of residence. In the case of the food consumption index, the largest variation appears to be between the communities, while the HHs' characteristics (apart from migration status) have a moderate impact. In contrast, HHs' health knowledge does not vary according to their age, but, as expected, the largest variation is found according to their sex and education followed by their occupations. On the other hand, household progress in Dhaka relative to the place of origin is largely influenced by the length of stay in the current *basti* (beta=0.28) followed by the composition of household earners (beta=0.17) and involvement in organizations (beta=0.12). Although HHs' occupations have a statistically insignificant impact (beta=0.15) on progress, the adjusted effect of this variable suggests that those who are engaged in physical labour based occupations or are unemployed have less progress than the overall population. This result points out that progress is not only determined by the level of income, but is also influenced by the nature of jobs in relation to satisfaction (as Rickshaw pullers have a better equivalent income). Similarly, the insignificant adjusted effect of HHs' sex and education shows that educated heads have reported less progress than those with no education for both men and women. This result is an indication of the dissatisfaction of educated people because the earlier results reveal that education has a significant positive impact on ownership of durables, food consumption and health knowledge.

Summary

To sum up, the four objective indicators of life vary in different ways according to individual, household and community characteristics. For instance, the length of stay in the current *basti* has a negative relation with household equivalent income, but has a positive influence on the ownership of household durables. The negative relationship is probably found because of the advanced characteristics of recent migrants, while the positive influence reflects the gradual improvement in ownership of durables with continued residence in a *basti*. However, several explanatory variables remain positive and significant across the models. For example, household equivalent income, ownership of durables, food consumption and heads' health knowledge are each influenced to a large extent by the composition of household earners, the length of stay in the current *basti*, the current community of residence, and HHs' sex and educational level respectively. After controlling for other variables, the progress index does not significantly vary among the communities

of residence, and the model shows that progress in achievement is largely influenced by the length of stay in the current *basti* and the composition of household earners.

However, the most interesting result is that both objective and subjective indicators differ consistently across households according to their organizational involvement status. Households with organizational involvement show significantly better achievement or progress than households without involvement. There have been a lot of debates regarding the selectivity of participation in organizations in the rural areas of Bangladesh (noted in Section 1.2), arguing whether this participation is for better off people or for those who are really disadvanced. To test this, the household equivalent income has been added in the additive model as a covariate for the other four dependent variables. In the new models, involvement in organizations loses some of its explanatory power: the beta value declines from 0.13 to 0.10 for the durables index, 0.13 to 0.08 for the food index, and 0.11 to 0.08 for the knowledge index. The beta value for the durables index is still statistically significant but significance is lost in the other two cases. Interestingly, the beta value and the significance level remain unchanged in the effect of organizational involvement on the progress index. These results indicate that income does moderate the influence of involvement in group-based credit organizations on the objective measures of well-being suggesting some selectivity towards higher incomes among those involved with organizations. Nonetheless, it is evident that household organizational involvement shows a consistent positive effect on the achievements of migrants and their overall progress in Dhaka.

6.7 *Conclusion*

This chapter has examined the socio-economic outcomes of poverty-induced migration in terms of achieved life outcomes in Dhaka's *basti*. It is apparent that migrants are very poor in terms of both the quantitative and qualitative values of their life in the destination. For instance, despite having been residents of the most economically advanced city in Bangladesh, these migrants have a much lower income than the urban average. In addition, this income is achieved from occupations that are mainly physical labour-based. A similar picture is found in examining the education and health care since children's education is limited to informal education provided by NGOs, and most dwellers' sicknesses either

remain untreated or are treated by quack doctors. Education and health care in *basti* are almost completely overlooked by both the government and NGOs. With regard to the physical environment, migrants live in poor structural dwellings with inadequate and irregular basic urban services. In addition, HHs do not enjoy any recreational activities because of the hardship of their work and the lack of common recreation services. Furthermore, women's safety is jeopardized by the local *mastans*, and no protest can be expressed because of the fear of further harassment. Despite living in such an appalling environment, migrants themselves see their migration decision as having been profitable in terms of improvement of some aspects of their lives. It is also evident that migrants have been able to take advantage of economic opportunities in Dhaka as 40 per cent of household members are employed compared to only 3.6 per cent unemployed.

Although three poor communities are examined in this research, interestingly the degree of inequality in QOL varies in different ways across these communities. Most importantly, a better income condition of a community does not necessarily guarantee a better level of other aspects of life. While the better income condition is determined mainly by individual or household characteristics, households' access to education and other basic services is largely influenced by the social settings. Access to these services depends on the extent to which the community integrates itself for collective action, and how NGOs undertake their programs. In this regard, it is apparent that NGO interventions in the form of CBOs are very effective for the provision of basic services, and this type of intervention may provide a strong influence to improve some other aspects of life as well. However, the length of stay in the current *basti* has emerged as an important determinant for achievement, and this finding provides an indication of the importance of stability of residence in the *basti* in the face of the consistent risk of eviction. In addition, the level of achievement seems to be a function of the level of involvement with group-based organizations, and in this regard, further examination is needed to demystify the influence of involvement with group-based organizations on the level of achievements.

Chapter 7: Rural-Urban Alternatives for Poor Migrants

The preceding two chapters have analyzed the causes and consequences of migration for *basti* dwellers in Dhaka, and it is apparent that a high degree of differentiation exists between the three communities in some aspects of the migration process and in most aspects of achievements. The importance of the community is linked to the question of alternatives for the development of urban squatters (Ross 1973:133), as poor migrants increasingly concentrate in *basti* and consequently, viable initiatives have to be taken to redress the *basti* situation. As discussed in Section 3.4, the government and NGOs have undertaken a number of approaches, such as eviction, resettlement, *basti* improvement, rehabilitation, credit programs and basic service delivery programs to improve *basti* situations. In particular, eviction has been the main tool to handle *basti*, but it has become difficult for recent governments to capitalize on this approach because of increasing resistance by dwellers, criticism from international donors, NGOs and the civil society, and the risk of losing votes in the election.

Evictions during the 1970s and 1980s across Dhaka city were possible under the autocratic governments of the time but have become more difficult following the democratic movement in 1990. A similar scenario is found in Rio-de-Janeiro, where eradication and resettlement approaches were carried out in the 1960s and 1970s following the miliary coup in 1964, but a comprehensive upgrading approach was initiated during the period 1983-1994, marking the transition to democratic institutions throughout Brazil (Pamuk and Cavallieri 1998:449, 454). In the case of Dhaka, the up-grading program has not taken place on a large scale, but during the late 1990s the government initiated a rehabilitation program '*Ghare Phera*' in order to rehabilitate a proportion of *basti* dwellers in their origin as noted in Section 3.5. This rehabilitation program has emerged as a positive approach to tackle the *basti* phenomenon. It is argued that all migrants in *basti* are not landless and therefore, migrants who own land in the place of origin may be rehabilitated there. Chapter 5 primarily supports this argument by revealing that about three-fifths of households possess some assets in their origin and most households maintain a close link with their origin.

On the other hand, the increasing concentration and visibility of urban poor in *basti* are related to the formulation of urban poverty alleviation strategies. In less than a decade, micro credit programs have become the vogue among governments, international donors and NGOs dealing with development issues in slum and squatter communities in Asian cities (UNCHS 1998:1). Micro credit programs have already been recognized as effective tools for poverty alleviation in rural areas of Bangladesh. As mentioned Section 3.6.2, a number of NGOs have been working in *basti* since the late 1980s with different development programs, and group-based micro-credit activity has been the main program. Most NGOs consider their micro credit programs along with some supportive programs such as health and education to be the strategic way of improving the living conditions of *basti* dwellers. In this respect, Chapter 6 has shown that both objective and subjective measures of achievements significantly vary between households that participated in group-based organizations and non-participating households with participating households have a better achievement than non-participating households.

While the rehabilitation program, '*Ghare Phera*', has been developed on the basis of migrants' existence in the community of origin, NGO activities including credit programs are linked to the community of destination. Ross has argued that two clear alternatives need to be examined in relation to solving the squatter problem- the rural and the urban (Ross 1973:133). The purpose of this chapter is to examine the likely effectiveness of these two development approaches in ameliorating *basti* situations in order to address the last two research questions of the thesis. The organization of this chapter is as follows: the first section provides a brief discussion on variables used throughout this chapter, while the strategy of analysis is stated in the following section. The subsequent two sections examine the fifth and sixth research questions respectively, and the final section concludes this chapter by summarizing the findings.

7.1 *Definitions and measurement of variables*

Most variables used in this chapter are selected from the preceding two chapters since this chapter concentrates on the two policy-oriented research questions in the context of the earlier findings. Because these variables have already been defined in preceding chapters, any modification in the measurement of these variables will be noted along with the measurement of new variables in each analysis. However, a brief introduction to the

variables is presented here for a better understanding of the analysis throughout this chapter.

Section 7.3 investigates the fifth research question in relation to the return aspect of migration. The descriptive analysis in Section 7.3.2 is based on two new variables: migrants' intentions to return to the place of origin, and justifications in favour of these intentions. In the case of multivariate analysis in Section 7.3.2, the variable 'intentions to return to the place of origin' is used as the dependent variable, and a total of 16 variables are introduced as independent variables. Among these independent variables, five are new variables: having relatives in the place of origin, household size, ownership status of dwelling, whether initial residence in Dhaka was in the current *basti*, and the number of changes of residence in Dhaka. Some descriptive information regarding these variables has been presented in Section 3.3, 5.7, and 6.3.4.

Section 7.4 examines the prospect of organizational interventions to improve the QOL of *basti* dwellers. The variables used in descriptive and multivariate analyses in Section 7.4.1 and 7.4.2 respectively have already been used in the earlier analysis. However, three new variables are used in a descriptive analysis in the last section 7.4.3: whether organizational involvement has brought any benefit to the household, whether respondents would like to join an organization (if not involved), and justifications in favour of intentions to join organizations.

7.2 *Strategy of analysis*

In the analysis of the return aspect of migration in Section 7.3, household heads' (HHs) intentions to return to the place of origin and their self-perceived justifications in favour of the intentions will be examined according to *basti* in order to understand the nature of intentions and reasons behind those intentions. The bivariate cross-tabulation technique is used in this comparative analysis, which will be supplemented by qualitative data. Then, HHs' intentions to return to origin will be investigated through multivariate logistic regression analysis to determine the underlying factors influencing migrants to return to the place of origin or stay in Dhaka. The multivariate analysis will follow the forward stepwise technique, in which first, a zero-order model will include one type of variable, and the

following models will gradually incorporate other types of variables. This forward stepwise procedure indicates the effect of an explanatory variable on the dependent variable with the effects of the other explanatory variables partialled out or held constant (Stevens 2002:94, 148).

With regard to the examination of the impact of participation in social organization on QOL in Section 7.4, first, a descriptive analysis will be presented to understand the general characteristics of participants in organizations and the level of their QOL, and the extent to which their characterises and QOL differ from non-participating respondents. The following subsection will investigate the different factors simultaneously through a multivariate logistic regression analysis to identify discriminators of membership of organizations. The forward stepwise technique will be used here as well. Finally, respondents' own perceptions will be examined with the support of qualitative information in the last subsection to draw conclusions about selectivity and the benefits of participation in organizations.

7.3 *Intensions to return to origin*

Although 80 per cent of respondents have benefited economically through the migration decision, their lives in *basti* are not secure considering the neighbourhood violence described in the preceding chapter. The most important concern of *basti* life is the insecurity of tenure because of the unauthorized settlement status. Perhaps due to this uncertainty, migrants maintain a close link with their places of origin as found in Section 5.7. Therefore, the aim of this section is to reveal the underlying factors which may influence migrants to return to their origin or stay in Dhaka.

7.3.1 Migrants' attitudes

First, this subsection examines respondents' perceptions of their plans to return to the place of origin, and second, it will reveal respondents' reported justifications of their perceived intentions.

Intentions to return to the place of origin

HHs were asked about their future plans in relation to return to their places of origin, and their responses were recorded in three pre-coded categories: yes (those who anticipated a return), no (those who did not expect any possibility of a return) and uncertain (those who did not know or replied that it would depend on future progress). Table 7.1 reveals that just under half of the respondents intend to return to their origin. There are different views about the possibility of migrants' return to their village. For instance, one study in Dhaka found that 95 and 85 per cent of *basti* and pavement dwellers respectively did not intend to return because the capital city holds a promise in the future but this cannot be said for the rural areas (Begum 1999:140). In contrast, from his personal experience, the pioneer of the '*Ghare Phera*' program stated that most *basti* dwellers who have a homestead or land in the native village would like to return. During the fieldwork, six households from the sample of this research returned to the place of origin as noted in Table 4.4. Similarly, a participant (P7) of the male focus group in Daroger tak stated his desire to go back to his origin in the following way:

> We (the family) hope we will return to the native place. In fact, the dwelling has already been constructed at our homestead and we will go back with the blessing of Allah.

An intention does not mean that intended migrants are ready to return or will do so in the near future. Connell et al. (1976:125) state that intentions may not be realized, but, in the case of this study an intention indicates a strong desire, suggesting that it should not to assumed that all rural poor have permanently migrated to Dhaka. However, about 22 per cent of respondents intend not to go back to origin, while nearly 30 per cent of respondents remain uncertain about their future settlement. The contingency table 7.1 indicates that respondents' intentions do not vary significantly among the three communities, and the pattern of this distribution remains the same among the recent and long-term migrants after controlling for the migration status of respondents. This result implies that respondents' intentions are related to the fulfillment of motives of migration and overall *basti* situations, and therefore, these intentions neither vary between the recent and long-term migrants nor across the communities.

Table-7.1: The percentage distribution of intentions to return to origin and justifications in favour of these intentions by three *basti*

Variables/categories	Name of *basti*			All
	Bangabandhu	Daroger tak	Jhilpar	
Intentions to return to origin (V = 0.10 ns)				
Yes	40.5	48.3	51.7	48.4
No	32.1	18.3	19.3	21.7
Don't know/uncertain	27.4	33.3	29.0	29.9
Justifications in favour of intentions (V = 0.21*)				
Yes				
Not permanent here	10.7	10.8	2.9	6.8
After attaining savings	13.1	9.2	18.4	14.6
After all that is the native place	7.1	15.0	18.4	15.1
Dislike living in *basti*	9.5	5.8	7.7	7.5
Others (meagre income, children future etc)	-	7.5	4.3	4.4
No				
No work in village	11.9	5.0	9.2	8.5
Nothing left in village	14.3	8.3	5.8	8.3
Others (better life in Dhaka etc)	6.0	5.0	4.3	4.9
Don't know/uncertain				
Depends on future savings	13.1	13.3	12.6	12.9
As long as survive in *basti*	7.1	14.2	11.6	11.4
Others (Government's help etc)	7.1	5.8	4.8	5.6
Number in sample	84	120	207	411

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note : a) Does not include 49 migrants who were brought by their parents.
b) * and ns indicate P<0.05 and Not significant (P>0.05) respectively.

Justifications in favour of intentions

Justifications in favour of intentions given by respondents are presented in Table 7.1. Among the anticipated returning migrants, the most common reasons are associated with the feelings of the birthplace followed by the expected success in savings. This desired savings depends on success in the destination and an anticipated success has been argued as a factor affecting the decision of return (Connell et al. 1976:124). The anticipated success can be better understood from the following comment made by a participant (P2) of the female focus group in Jhilpar:

> We (the family) will return to our village. (Moderator questioned why?) Returning to the village because we have come to Dhaka for earning and making a savings for the future. After that we will leave Dhaka.

On the other hand, failure may affect the decision to return, and in this regard, a small proportion of respondents mentioned that meagre income in Dhaka is the reason for their decision to return. These respondents have been recoded with the category of others (yes). Because an intended plan does not necessarily guarantee return, participants of FGDs were asked when they expected to return, but no participants could provide a specific time period or plan for their intentions of returning. Intended returns can be meaningfully described through the following statement made by a participant (P10) of the male focus group in Daroger tak:

> When I have money in hand by which it will be possible to buy some land and cows or that type of facilities in the village. Otherwise, how can we proceed towards the village?

This statement clearly indicates an uncertainty about the anticipated return. In fact, the categories of justifications for the intended and uncertain groups in Table7.1 are similar. For instance, while intended migrants state that they anticipate returning after attaining savings, uncertain migrants also report that their return depends on future success in savings. Similarly, a proportion of intended respondents think that they are not permanent in Dhaka because they could be evicted from their settlements at any time. In contrast, a group of uncertain migrants mentioned that as long as they can stay in *basti*, they would not go back to their origin. But if the *basti* is evicted and they cannot find any cheaper place to reside, they would go back to their own villages. Therefore, two factors are indicated as important, namely economic progress in terms of savings and the uncertainty of the *basti* existence. The basic difference between intended and uncertain migrants is not their justifications but that the former group holds a strong belief of returning in the future, while the latter group is not so positive.

However, some strong social reasons have appeared among the intended migrants and these reasons are not viewed in urban success or failure terms. For instance, 7.5 per cent of respondents dislike the *basti* life in considering its low social status and the poor law and order situation in *basti*. Some evidence has already been presented in Section 6.3.5 to show the ways dwellers are affected by the vulnerable law and order situation in *basti*. Similarly, living in *basti* is generally ranked at a lower status compared to the rest of the urban society. But the question is how this lower status influences dwellers to return to their

origin, and in answer, two statements are presented below, which were made by two participants of the male focus group in Jhilpar.

> P4: I want to go back home because our prestige can be retained over there, not here (in *basti*) ---
> P7: We live in *basti*, and that is why people of *mahalla* rebuke us in public. We do not want to hear that sort of bad language ---

The following statement is cited from a LH of a male HH, aged 54 years, living in Bangabandhu *basti* with his family to understand the extent to which living in *basti* affects his social life and subsequently, his expressed desire to go back to the native village.

> Our children are growing up and we have to marry them off. When a good marriage proposal comes up for my daughter, the groom party will not proceed any more once they are informed that we live in *basti*. They will say get lost, she (my daughter) is a *basti* girl.

Apart from this low status, some respondents are worried about their children's future in considering the lack of educational facilities and the crime and violence situation in the neighborhood, and these respondents were recoded with the category of 'others (yes)'. Therefore, it is evident that the collective influence of both economic and social factors has influenced migrants to consider a possible return to their villages in the future, a similar finding for returned migrants found in other developing countries (Hugo 1978:252; Kothari 1980:353).

It is interesting to note that unlike the overlap between intended and uncertain migrants, respondents who did not intend to return reported very clear-cut reasons for staying in Dhaka. These reasons broadly imply that the economic opportunities and the QOL are better in Dhaka than in the origin. The qualitative information from FGDs and LHs also show that those intending to stay have clear reasons for their decisions. A participant (P9) of the male focus group in Bangabandhu stated:

> There (in village) are no ways for us to survive. We do not have any land, dwelling or even homestead. Here in Dhaka father, daughters, sons, everyone of the family is working, and through this collective effort we can somehow survive. But what will we do in the village?

Finally, the contingency table 7.1 shows only a small variation ($P<0.05$) in the distribution of stated justifications across the communities.

Summary

This descriptive analysis suggests that along with economic and social factors, the uncertainty of existence in *basti* plays an important role in the likelihood of the return to the place of origin. It is apparent that although nearly 50 per cent of respondents intend to return to their origin, these positive intentions are merged with uncertainty. However, respondents who do intend to return have shown their determination in staying in Dhaka by providing very clear-cut reasons.

7.3.2 Multivariate analysis for intended returns

The preceding section has shown that respondents' intentions to return to their origin are influenced by different factors such as economic, social, emotional and eviction threats to *basti*. However, it can be argued that migrants' intentions are likely to be influenced by their interests in the place of origin and destination or their personal or household characteristics. Therefore, the aim of this section is to identify the factors that influence migrants' intentions to return to their origin and in this regard, logistic regression[75] analysis is used.

Variables in the analysis

The dependent variable is 'intentions to return to origin' documented in Table 7.1, but since no meaningful differences have been found between the categories of 'yes' and 'uncertain', the former category is recoded with the latter one. Hence, the dependent variable becomes a dichotomous variable with two categories: uncertain (respondents who are likely to return or still uncertain) and not intending to return (those who have decided not to return). A wide range of variables is taken into account to select the independent variables. Previous findings indicate that village attraction both in terms of emotional feelings and asset-holding status may affect migrants' decisions to return.

Therefore, the first set of variables is based on village attractions. Among these variables, the first one is whether migrants' have relatives in the origin and if they have, what are the types of relations. This variable is categorized into five groups: spouse/children, parents, brothers/sisters, other relations and no relatives. The order of relations is categorized

[75] The method of this technique has been discusssed in Section 4.7.

according to the importance of kinship, ranging from spouse/children with the highest priority to other relations with the lowest priority. This ordering implies that respondents who have spouse/children may have other relatives belonging to the other three categories. The measurement of asset-holding status is the same here as in Table 5.3 with one modification that the category 'land' is recoded with 'homestead', making the new category 'homestead or land' due to the fact that the category 'land' has a small number of cases. Moreover, in terms of land ownership, data reveal that the mean of owned land for households possessing only homestead (0.10 acre) is close to households possessing only land (0.29 acre), while households having both homestead and land have a relatively higher mean of owned land (0.57 acre) than the former two categories.

The second set of variables relates to HHs' characteristics. The four characteristics included in the model are age, sex, educational level and present principal occupations. Age is a continuous variable and it is measured in single years. Heads' educational level was categorized into four groups in Table 5.3, but here the last two categories are merged together because the category 'SSC and above' has a small number of cases. This educational variable now has three categories: never attended school, Class I-V, and Class VI & above. Categories of heads' present occupations remain the same as for the MCA analysis in Section 6.6.

The household as a whole can be assumed to have an impact on the probability of returning to origin. A total of five household characteristics are selected for the third set of variables, and these variables are: household equivalent income, progress in Dhaka (index), household size, number of household earners, and ownership status of dwelling in *basti*. Apart from the last variable, all variables are continuous. The measurement of the equivalent income and index of progress in Dhaka has been discussed in Table A5 of Appendix-A. Family size is measured by summing the number of current household members, while the ownership status of dwelling is made a dichotomous variable: owner (respondents who live in their own dwellings) and others (those who live in the dwelling as a tenant or without paying rent).

The final set of variables is chosen in relation to HHs' settlement experiences in Dhaka with the assumption that the duration of stay and the degree of struggle with settlement

might encourage or discourage migrants to return to origin. Five variables are used, and among these variables, the length of stay in Dhaka, the length of stay in the current *basti,* and the current living community have already been described for the MCA analysis in Table 6.8. Two new variables are: number of residential changes in Dhaka since migration, and whether the initial residence was in the current *basti*. The former variable is a continuous variable, and the latter one is a dichotomous variable with two categories: yes and no. A list of all explanatory variables introduced in the logistic regression model is presented in Table A7 of Appendix-A with the descriptive statistics: percentage distributions for the categorical variables, and the mean and standard deviation for the continuous variables.

Results and interpretations

The results are presented in terms of odds ratios along with the significance of variation among the cases (or categories) of each independent variable, if the variation is found at $P \leq 5.0$ per cent level. The odds ratios represent the change in the odds of the dependent event occurring resulting from a unit change in the explanatory variable. The simple interpretation of odds is that if it is greater than 1.0, the event is more likely to occur, and if it is less than 1.0, it is less likely to occur. For the categorical variables, the odds are interpretated in respect of the reference category. The dependent variable 'intentions to return to origin' is a dichotomous variable, having two categories: uncertain with the value label 0.0 and not intended to return with the value label 1.0. Thus, any odds value greater than 1.0 increases the probability of not returning to origin.

Table 7.2: Odds ratios from logistic regression analysis of intentions to return to origin by village attractions, household heads' characteristics, household characteristics, and settlement experiences

Independent variables	Odds ratios for intentions to return to origin (0=uncertain & 1=not intended)			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Relatives in origin				
No relatives	2.563	3.881*	3.466	2.407
Spouse/children (ref)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Parents	1.528	2.937	2.641	2.616
Brother/sisters	1.921	2.884	2.489	2.622
Other relations	1.657	2.551	2.109	1.846
Assets holding status in origin				
Assetless	2.748**	2.658**	2.656**	2.792**
Homestead or land	1.514	1.652	1.645	1.597
Homestead and land (ref)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Household heads' age	na	1.029*	1.029*	1.018
Household heads' sex				
Male (ref)	na	1.000	1.000	1.000
Female	na	2.290*	3.174**	3.199**
Household heads' educational level				
Never attended school (ref)	na	1.000	1.000	1.000
Class I-V	na	1.188	1.219	1.161
Class VI & above	na	1.888	1.930	2.031†
Household heads' present occupation				
Petty business (ref)	na	1.000	1.000	1.000
Rickshaw pullers	na	0.457*	0.489	0.443†
Different services	na	0.802	0.916	0.823
Semi-skilled workers	na	0.785	0.794	0.670
Others (mainly labourers)	na	1.346	1.518	1.414
Unemployed	na	1.161	0.949	0.951
Household equivalent income (Tk)	na	na	1.000	1.000
Progress in Dhaka (index)	na	na	0.933	0.941
Household size	na	na	1.241**	1.314**
Number of household earners	na	na	0.744	0.742
Ownership status of dwelling				
Owner	na	na	1.007	0.800
Others (mainly tenants) (ref)	na	na	1.000	1.000
Initial residence this current *basti*				
Yes (ref)	na	na	Na	1.000
No	na	na	Na	0.964
Number of changes in residence	na	na	na	0.920
Length of stay in Dhaka (yrs)	na	na	na	1.037*
Length of stay in current *basti* (yrs)	na	na	na	1.017
Current living community in Dhaka				
Daroger tak (ref)	na	na	na	1.000
Bangabandhu	na	na	na	3.304*
Jhilpar	na	na	na	2.725*
-2 log likelihood	471.000	440.819	432.488	418.165
Chi square df	6	15	20	26

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: †, *, **, and na indicate P=0.05, P<0.05, P<0.01 and Not Applicable respectively.

First, two variables in relation to the attractions of origin are included in the zero-order model (i.e. Model 1) in Table 7.2, and among these two variables, asset-holding status in the place of origin has a significant effect on the intentions to return. HHs who do not possess any asset in the origin are less likely to return to origin than those who have both homestead and land. Although the odds of not intending to return are higher for migrants who have either homestead or land than for migrants who possess both, the difference is not significant. Every category of the variable 'relatives in origin' has higher odds compared to the reference category 'spouse/children' (respondents who have either spouse or children or both in origin), although these variations are not statistically significant. Nevertheless, the model suggests that migrants not having any relative in the origin are the least likely group to return to their origin.

In model 2, which includes the HHs' characteristics in addition to the native attractions, the effect of asset-holding status remains almost the same as in the first model, but the effect of having relatives increases. In particular, the odds of not intending to return are 3.9 times higher for those who have no relatives than for those who have left spouse/children in the origin, and the difference between these two categories is statistically significant. Among HHs' characteristics, both age and sex have important and significant effects on the odds of intentions to return because the odds of not intended to return are increased by 3 per cent for each extra year of age and the odds for female are 229 per cent of the odds for men. Although no significant differences are found between the intentions to return across the three groups of respondents according to their educational attainments, the odds suggest that as the educational level increases, the probability of not returning to origin increases. In the case of present principal occupations, only the category of rickshaw pullers differs significantly from the reference category (petty business), and the important point is that the odds of not intended to return are 54.3 per cent lower for rickshaw pullers than for petty business people, suggesting that the former group is more likely to return to their origin compared to the reference group. This significant behaviour of rickshaw pullers is probably the result of their hardships in that occupation, and a similar scenario was found in Section 6.6 that despite having a better income level, progress in Dhaka was negatively evaluated by them.

When the household characteristics are taken into account in Model 3, it shows that the effects of assetless and age on the odds of intentions to return remain the same as in Model 2, but the effect of sex becomes greater. This increased effect is perhaps influenced by women's greater role in the household in Dhaka than in origin since the family structure in *basti* has been found nuclear in Section 4.3.1. On the other hand, the effects of having no relatives and rickshaw pulling lose their significance despite little change in the odds. Among the household characteristics, household size is significantly associated with the intentions to return, and the result indicates that for each extra member in the household, the odds of not intending to return increases by 24.1 per cent. However, it is interesting to find that household equivalent income has a zero-order impact on the intentions to return to origin despite the fact that the main reason for migration is poverty.

Addition of the settlement experiences in Model 4 shows that asset-holding status maintains a similar pattern of effects as found in the prior models, and the effects of sex and household size remain the same as in the preceding model. Moreover, the higher level of educational attainments and occupation in rickshaw pulling appear to have significant impacts on the intentions to return to origin. While the former group is less likely to return, the latter group is more likely to do so. Furthermore, this model indicates that the length of stay in Dhaka is more important than HHs' age in the intention to return to origin. After controlling for the length of stay in Dhaka, the odds of HHs' age decrease and age is not significantly important anymore. The odds of not intending to return increase by 4 per cent for each extra year of stay in Dhaka.

In addition, Model 4 shows a significant differentiation in the intentions to return to origin between the communities ($P<0.05$), in which respondents of Bangabandhu and Jhilpar are less likely to return compared to the respondents of Daroger tak. The negative intention of going back to the place of origin for Bangabandhu community may be influenced by its weaker links with the place of origin than the other two communities (Table 5.6). The negative approach of Jhilpar is probably affected by their better labour force participation in Dhaka compared to the other two communities in terms of both percentage and sectors as noted in Table 6.1.

Because the category 'yes' has been recoded with the category 'uncertain' of the dependent variable, a multinomial logistic regression is run for the same dependent variable but with the original three categories (0-no, 1-uncertain, and 2-yes) using Model 4. The multinomial analysis shows a similar difference to the logistic regression between not intended (no) and intended (yes) respondents in terms of significant effects of the independent variables, but no differences are found between uncertain and intended (yes) groups with the exception of the effect of household size. This result supports the earlier understanding that there are no basic differences between the intended and uncertain migrants in relation to their returns to the place of origin.

Summary

The multivariate analysis clearly demonstrates that asset-holding status, sex of HHs and household size are the main factors, influencing migrants' intentions to return to the place of origin. More specifically, households having no assets in origin, female heads and those with a large number of members are less likely to return to the place of origin than other households. In addition, there are some other important factors which negatively affect the intentions to return to origin, namely higher educational attainments, and the longer-term stay in Dhaka. In contrast, rickshaw pullers are more likely to intend to return to their origin compared to other occupational groups. Finally, it is apparent that although respondents have mentioned a number of factors in justifying their intentions to return to the place of origin, these intentions are, in fact, closely related to individual and household characteristics as well as migratory settlement experiences.

7.4 *Demystifying the participation in group-based organizations*

Group-based credit programs provide small loans and savings facilities, and these facilities are seen as a way of providing some opportunities for poor to take an active role in their communities. Many studies have shown that increases in income through credit programs improve the asset formation, health, nutritional and educational status of the household (Goetz and Sen Gupta 1996:46; Hossain 1998 cited in Mahmud 2000:80). Nevertheless, there is no conclusive agreement about the effectiveness of credit programs for poverty alleviation. The accessibility of disadvantaged people to these credit programs has been a

pivotal question in assessing the success of credit programs through organizational development to alleviate poverty.

According to the theoretical conceptions in Section 2.3.2, three concerns need to be analyzed in assessing the success of organizational interventions: how does the participation occur, who participates, and what are the effects? The ways in which participation occurs in credit-oriented organizations have already been discussed in Section 3.6.2. Therefore, this section examines the latter two concerns of participation in order to assess the influence of credit-oriented organizations on the QOL of poor migrants in *basti*.

7.4.1 Participation in group-based organizations and its effect

This section presents a descriptive analysis of the characteristics and QOL of participants of organizations, and of the extent to which their characteristics and QOL differ from the population as a whole of the three communities studied in this research.

Characteristics of participants

A total of 167 household members were reported as participants of organizations. In Section 6.3.5, the household is used to measure the status of participation in organizations instead of individuals on the assumption that if a household member participates in an organization, all members of the household benefit from the participation. Since 18 households have two participants and one household has three participants, the number of participating households falls to 147. There are two main types of organizations: NGO groups which are organized by NGO workers, and own associations which are developed by *basti* dwellers. About 80 per cent of participants (135 out of 167) are involved in NGO groups, and the remaining are members of their own credit-based associations.

The purpose of identifying participants in terms of their characteristics is to reveal whether there is any selectivity in enrolling members in organizations. The simple way this can be done is to investigate the differences between the characteristics of participants and non-participants. But the question is who are the non-participants? There are no criteria that are strictly followed by any NGOs to select potential members, although in the rural context it is argued that landless or functionally landless (<0.05 acre) people are eligible for membership (Evans et al. 1999:420; Latif 2001:58-59). *Basti* dwellers do not own any land

in Dhaka, and whatever land they have almost 100 per cent remains in the place of origin as found in Section 5.4. Once a *basti* is targeted by an NGO, any dweller of the community can be a member depending on his/her reputation judged by fellow group members and NGO workers. In this way, it can be argued that any adult dweller is a potential participant. The adult members can be considered to be those who are 14 years old or above, although there are two persons aged less than 14 years old who belong to a dwellers' own association.

Table-7.3: The percentage distribution of *basti* dwellers' characteristics by types of membership in organizations and the adult population of three communities

Characteristics	Types of organizations		All adult dwellers (14+ yrs)
	Membership in own association	Membership in NGO groups	
Relation with heads			
Self	62.9	39.4	36.6
Spouse	20.0	53.0	29.9
Daughter/son	17.1	4.6	21.0
Other relations	0.0	3.0	12.5
Mean age (in years)	32.3	33.4	31.02
Sex			
Male	74.3	35.6	49.5
Female	25.7	64.4	50.5
Educational level			
Never attended	31.8	41.7	43.3
Class I-V	48.6	39.4	40.2
Class VI and above	20.0	18.9	16.4
Labour force participation status			
Employed	85.7	59.8	60.9
Unpaid and unemployed	5.7	1.5	8.9
Not in labour force	8.6	38.6	30.2
Number in sample	35	132	1258
Occupations of employed members			
Petty business	20.0	26.6	18.9
Rickshaw pullers	20.0	6.3	17.8
Different services	20.0	30.4	32.5
Semi-skilled workers	23.3	13.9	11.9
Others (mainly labourers)	16.7	22.8	18.9
Number in sample	30	79	766

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002.

Table 7.3 presents the differences in characteristics between the members of dwellers' own associations and NGO groups, and shows how these two groups vary from the adult population of the three *basti*. Participants of NGO groups do not differ substantially from the common population, and whatever differences there are appear because of the higher

rate of female participation in NGO groups. Women are generally given priority by the NGOs because of their manifestly high propensity to repay loans and they have time available to spend in organizations (Goetz and Sen Gupta 1996:87; Mahmud 2000). That is why nearly 65 per cent of members of NGO groups are female compared to a little over 50 per cent of representation in the adult population, and a higher proportion of participants in NGO groups appear in the category of spouse and not in the labour force. The representation of HHs in the NGO groups is similar to the overall population, and as a result, NGO group members do not differ to a great extent from the population in terms of employed people and their occupations.

In contrast, the characteristics of participants in own associations reveal a different picture since their participation is dominated by HHs and males. Consequently, the representation of employed persons is much higher in own associations than in NGO groups and the adult population. In addition, members of own association have a better educational level and earning occupations compared to both NGO groups and the adult population. Garment workers and maidservants are the two lowest paid occupations and these belong to the categories of different services and others respectively. The proportions of these two categories are smaller in own associations than in NGO groups and the adult population. Although no statistical technique could be run to test the significance of differences in characteristics between the three groups of population because of the small number of cases in own associations, the descriptive information in Table 7.3 suggests that participants in NGO groups differ from the adult population only in terms of gender, but in the case of own associations, participants differ from the adult population in terms of economic and human resource indicators.

The effects of participation

In Section 6.6, five indicators of migrants' achievements including a self-assessed progress index were selected as dependent variables for the MCA additive model to investigate the ways in which levels of achievement vary among households. This model revealed that these five indicators consistently varied between participating and non-participating households with participating households having a better achievement than non-participating households. However, it is important to look at the differences between these two groups of households in a broader context in assessing the effects of participation on

achievements. In this regard, a total of 13 indicators[76] of the QOL are presented in Table 7.4. A positive impact of participation can be expected on these indicators as argued in other research (Goetz and Sen Gupta 1996:46; Mahmud 2000:80).

There are a total of 100 households whose members have participated in organizations previously, but currently no member of these households is participating in organizations. These households are taken into account as a different group in addition to the previous two participation groups (own associations and NGO groups) to examine the variation in the QOL among households according to their participation status. The effect of previous participation on QOL in the *basti* is hard to justify because some of the previously participating households had been involved in rural organizations including the Grameen Bank before migration. Some could not even remember the name of the NGO. Nonetheless, if this previously participating group is taken into account along with the other two groups, the remaining households represent those who have never participated.

In considering the overall situation, Table 7.4 shows that households that currently participate in their own associations have a better QOL than other groups of households and households that are currently involved in NGO groups show a better QOL than those that were previously or never involved in organizations. Although never participating households have a higher equivalent income than previously participating households, the overall condition suggests that never participating households have achieved a lower QOL than the previously participating households. In other words, never participating households appear to be the most vulnerable group among the four groups of households in considering the achieved QOL in Dhaka. However, one important finding is that in the case of most community level variables (such as proportion of children attending schools, housing structure, sanitation facilities and garbage disposal), less variation is found between the groups. This result raises the question of the effectiveness of credit-based organizations in improving the educational and physical aspects of life.

[76] The measurement of these indicators is the same as in Chapter 6 (or Table A5 of Appendix-A).

Table-7.4 Differences in QOL between households by their status of participation in organizations

Indicators	Status of participation in organizations				All
	In own association	In NGO groups	Previously participated	Never participated	
Equivalent income in Taka (F=6.53***)	1684.50	1314.29	1089.25	1193.03	1233.36
Durable index (F=8.47***)	3.53	3.86	3.20	2.69	3.16
Proportion of children (5-<14 yrs) attending school ($F=0.61^{ns}$)	0.63	0.63	0.57	0.55	0.58
Heads' health knowledge index (F= 6.39***)	4.03	3.68	3.57	3.15	3.43
Food consumption index (F=2.78*)	7.40	5.99	5.54	5.54	5.78
Crowdedness (persons/room) (F=8.89***)	3.45	3.87	4.35	3.37	3.72
Water and electricity index (F=3.7*)	1.50	1.32	1.24	1.08	1.20
Sickness status ($V=0.11^{ns}$)					
Nobody sick	33.3	15.4	22.0	28.6	24.1
Member(s) sick only at any time	56.7	69.2	57.0	54.9	59.1
At least a member chronically sick	10.0	15.4	21.0	16.4	16.7
Contraceptive prevalence status ($V=0.11^{ns}$)					
Never used	44.8	43.0	46.0	55.2	49.3
Ever used	55.2	57.0	54.0	44.8	50.7
Children immunization (less than one year) status					
Never immunised	0.0	6.3	18.8	38.5	23.3
Ever immunised	100.0	93.8	81.3	61.5	76.7
Housing structure ($V=0.08^{ns}$)					
Jhupri	3.3	4.3	6.0	6.6	5.7
Kutcha	90.0	86.3	86.0	89.7	88.0
Semi-*pucca*	6.7	9.4	8.0	3.8	6.3
Sanitation facilities					
Hanging latrine (*Kutcha*)	20.0	20.5	19.0	26.3	22.8
Ring & slab (Semi-*pucca*)	76.7	73.5	78.0	72.3	74.1
Septic tank (*Pucca*)	3.3	6.0	3.0	1.4	3.0
Garbage disposal facilities ($V=0.09^{ns}$)					
No facility (throwing in the road)	40.0	48.7	52.0	55.4	52.0
A specific space in *basti*	33.3	38.5	32.0	32.9	34.1
In municipal garbage bin	26.7	12.8	16.0	11.7	13.9

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note : a) *, *** and ns indicate P<0.05, P<0.001 and Not significant (P>0.05) respectively.
b) The sample size is 460 for each variable except the variables, proportion of children attending school (277), contraceptive prevalence status (446) and children immunization status (60).
c) In the case of immunization and sanitation facilities, the significant test could not run due to small number of cases.

If the characteristics in Table 7.3 and the QOL in Table 7.4 are compared, it can be argued that the level of QOL of households participating in own associations may be an outcome of their members' advanced characteristics rather than organizational interventions. The simple explanation for this argument is that when dwellers initiate an association, the group is selective in terms of human resources and economic solvency so that the organization can run smoothly through the members' own efforts. In contrast, it can be argued that the QOL of households involved in NGO groups is positively influenced by the organizational interventions because households involved in NGO groups have a better QOL compared to the overall population while the characteristics of participants in NGO groups do not differ from the common population.

Summary

This descriptive analysis indicates that organizational interventions seem to discriminate between participating and non-participating households in enhancing the level of achievements in Dhaka. But it is important to stress that this analysis has not established a casual link between participation in organizations and the level of achieved QOL. The cross-sectional data used in this research do not allow the investigation of changes in achievements resulting from participation in organizations. Although it is apparent that participants in NGO groups can be considered as a subset of the common population and their QOL is relatively better than the common population, more investigation is needed to examine the selectivity of participation and its impact on the QOL. It has been found that a large proportion of participants in organizations are female and most of them are not in the labour force. This suggests that participation in organizations is a household strategy to improve the household's socio-economic conditions. Therefore, the effects of the selectivity of participation may not only be related to the participant's characteristics, but also to be associated with the household and its head's characteristics. These considerations need to be investigated to provide a degree of confidence in the conclusions on the effects of selectivity on participation in organizations and the effect of participation on the QOL.

7.4.2 Multivariate analysis for the selectivity of participation

The purpose of this section is to identify the factors determining the access to the organizations in order to examine whether any selectivity issue exists in enrolling members and if so, what the discriminating factors are and to what extent they discriminate. A

logistic regression analysis is undertaken for this purpose, and the forward stepwise technique is used to introduce different types of variables gradually in the model as was done in Section 7.3.2.

Variables in the analysis

The dependent variable is the status of household participation in organizations, which is categorized into two groups as in Table 6.5: yes, at least one member is currently participating, and no, no member is currently participating. Although the preceding section shows that participants in own associations have better economic and human capital characteristics than participants in NGO groups, the category of own associations has been recoded with NGO groups because only a small number of households are involved in own associations and both these types of organizations are based on credit-oriented activities. Also, previously participating households have been combined with never participating households since some households in the former group have experienced this event in the place of origin before migration.

As discussed above, participation may be associated with both individual and household characteristics, as has been observed in rural areas of Bangladesh (Evans et al. 1999:425; Mahmud 2000:96). Hence, both individual and household characteristics are selected as explanatory variables in this analysis. In considering the individual characteristics, HHs' characteristics have been chosen rather than participants' characteristics because the participation of wives is a household strategy and their participation is likely to be influenced by heads. Four characteristics of heads are selected namely age, sex, educational level and present principal occupations, and the measurement of these variables remains the same as in Section 7.3.2.

Six household characteristics are selected as explanatory variables, and among these characteristics, household land-holding status is generally considered as a conditional factor for participation in NGO groups (Latif 2001:58). In the case of this research, despite the fact that *basti* dwellers do not own any land in Dhaka, it can be assumed that their land in origin might have an impact on their participation in organizations in *basti*. Similarly, ownership of the dwelling in *basti* might play an important role in participation as a proxy variable for land ownership in Dhaka, and hence, the ownership of dwelling status, which

is measured as in Section 7.3.2, is selected as an explanatory variable. Two more variables, namely household size and household sickness status are introduced in the model because these two variables are assumed to be associated with participation in rural areas of Bangladesh (Evans et al. 1999:422-425; Mahmud 2000:88). Moreover, the number of household earners can be an important variable to show whether participation is associated with household economic advantage since the number of earners was found to be the most important determinant of household equivalent income in Sections 6.3.1 and 6.6. Furthermore, the household's highest educational attainment for adult members is considered as an explanatory variable in addition to the heads' educational attainment because a higher educational attainment, which is not necessarily achieved by HHs might influence the decision to participate, particularly in the case of participants other than HHs. But it should be noted that some HHs might overlap between the individual and household educational attainment variables, and therefore, the interaction effect of these two variables will be checked in the model.

Apart from HHs and their households' characteristics, two duration variables, namely the length of stay in Dhaka and length of stay in the current *basti* are introduced in the analysis, simply assuming that participation in organizations may be conditional on stability in the city and in the current community. Finally, the current community is introduced in the model to control for locational differences. A list of these explanatory variables is presented in Table A8 of Appendix-A with descriptive statistics.

Table 7.5: Odds ratios from logistic regression analysis of household participation in organizations by household heads' characteristics, household characteristics, duration factors and communities

Independent variables	Odds ratios for participation in organizations (0=no and 1=yes)			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Household heads' age (yrs)	1.015	1.007	1.001	0.998
Household heads' sex				
Male	1.379	1.521	1.617	1.659
Female (ref)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Household heads' educational level				
Never attended (ref)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Class I-V	1.039	0.835	0.861	0.791
Class VI & above	1.354	1.522	1.673	1.614
Household heads' present occupation				
Petty business	1.303	1.148	1.073	1.220
Rickshaw pullers	1.200	1.254	1.112	1.219
Different services	1.678	1.679	1.596	1.700
Semi-skilled workers	1.374	1.444	1.338	1.439
Others (mainly labourers) (ref)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Unemployed	1.165	1.197	1.176	1.310
Household size	na	0.941	0.937	0.946
Number of earners in the households	na	1.103	1.147	1.127
Ownership status of dwelling				
Owner	na	2.714***	2.429**	2.036*
Others (mainly tenants) (ref)	na	1.000	1.000	1.000
Households' sickness status				
No body sick	na	0.986	1.043	1.152
Member (s) is sick (acute)	na	1.747	1.828†	1.833†
At least one member chronic sick (ref)	na	1.000	1.000	1.000
Households' land-holding status (in acre)	na	1.752*	1.827*	1.878*
Households' highest educational level achieved by members aged ≥14 yrs				
No member ever attended school (ref)	na	1.000	1.000	1.000
Class I-V	na	1.816	1.778	1.900†
Class VI & above	na	1.098	0.988	1.076
Length of stay in Dhaka (yrs)	na	na	1.016	1.009
Length of stay in current community (yrs)	na	na	1.009	1.060
Current living community				
Daroger tak (ref)	na	na	na	1.000
Bangabandhu	na	na	na	2.758*
Jhilpar	na	na	na	1.723
-2 log likelihood	568.718	538.197	536.231	530.208
Chi square df	9	17	19	21

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: †, *, **, *** and na indicate P=0.05, P<0.05, P<0.01, p<0.001and Not Applicable respectively.

Results and interpretations

Results are presented here in the same way as in Section 7.3.2, and therefore, the interpretation of results is similar to that section. Since the two categories of the dependent variable have the value labels 0 for no (households who do not currently participate in

organizations) and 1 for yes (those currently participating), any odds value greater than 1.0 increases the probability of household participation in organizations. It can be seen from Table 7.5 that none of the HHs' characteristics introduced in Model 1 have a significant impact on the odds of household participation in organizations. But when household characteristics are added in Model 2, two household characteristics, namely the status of dwelling ownership in *basti* and land ownership in origin have significant effects on the odds of household participation in organizations. If a household owns the dwelling, this household has 2.7 times the odds of participation than a household which rents the dwelling. Similarly, the odds of household participation are increased by 75 per cent for each extra decimal of land. No significant changes appear in the effects of HHs' characteristics after controlling for household characteristics in this model. It should be mentioned that no significant ($P \leq 5.0$) interaction effect is found between HHs' educational attainment and households' highest educational attainment.

The two duration variables in Model 3 appear to have no effect on household participation in organizations, but a significant variation in the odds is found at the 5 per cent level between households with acute sickness and those with chronically ill members. Due to the absence of a clinical approach to the measurement of sickness, it is hard to justify the difference between reported acute sickness and non-sickness. As a result, odds for the three categories of sickness status, in fact, show the variation in household participation in organizations mainly between two groups: households with chronic sickness and others. Therefore, the variation between the categories of households' sickness status suggests that households with chronic ill members are less likely to participate in organizations compared to the household with acutely sick members or with nobody sick.

When controlling for communities in the fourth model, it appears that the odds of participation for households with members attaining some primary education are 190 per cent of the odds of participation for households with members who have never been in school, and this variation is found at the 5 per cent level. But if the household highest educational attainment achieved by only female members is considered (results not shown), a significant variation in the odds of participation is found at less than the 5 per cent level between those two groups of households. These results suggest that female education plays a more significant role in participation than male education. Finally, Model 4 indicates that

households living in Bangabandhu are more likely to participate in organizations compared to the reference community Daroger tak. Although the variation in household participation among the three communities might be associated with the NGOs' target or preferences, the higher odds of participation for Bangabandhu may also be influenced by a better motivation of this community than the other two communities in favour of participation in organizations as the dwellers of Bangabandhu have participated in their CBO.

However, the logistic regression reveals that ownership of dwellings in *basti* and land in origin are the most consistent determinants of household participation in organizations, and households' sickness conditions and the levels of female education show some influence on participation. In addition to this logistic regression, a multinomial logistic regression was carried out to examine the effects of explanatory variables in Model 4 on the same dependent variable but with three categories: households currently participating in organizations, those previously participating, and those have never participated. This regression shows similar differences between households currently participating and those who have never participated in terms of the effects of the independent variables. However, no significant differences are found between households currently participating and those who previously participated except for the effect of household size.

Summary

Some conclusions can be drawn from these results on the notion of selectivity. It is apparent that owning the dwelling in *basti* or a piece of land in origin increases the likelihood of household participation in organizations. It might be argued that better-off households are selected for the membership of organizations. If the household's income condition is taken into account, it does not support this argument because data show that owners have a lower equivalent income than tenants. Similarly, household equivalent income is only weakly (r=0.27) correlated with land-holding status. Moreover, the number of household earners has no significant impact on participation status while this number is significantly associated with household equivalent income. The reality is that the ownership of dwellings reflects the household's stability in the community and this stability is treated as the guarantee of continuation of participation, and in this regard, land ownership provides an additional guarantee.

The positive impact of female education on participation appears due to the participation of a large proportion of wives who are not in the labour force and thus their functional capability to deal with organizations is likely to be determined by their educational attainment. With regard to sickness status, qualitative data suggest that often some households show their interest in participation in organizations in order to get loans for the treatment of their chronically sick members. Consequently, chronic sickness negatively affects the household's participation in organizations because of the organizer's fear about the motive of participation. Finally, these explanations suggest that there are no rigid discriminations in enrolling members in organizations. Rather organizers probably emphasize some physical and educational attributes of the potential participants and their households, which are likely to be associated with the guarantee of the continuation of participation and the capability of understanding the organizational activities.

7.4.3 Migrants' perceptions

The question of whether or not participation in group-based organizations is selective and the effects of participation on QOL are complex. The quantitative analysis in the preceding section has identified some determinants of household participation in organizations, but it remains inconclusive whether people have benefited from participation. With regard to the attribution of cause and effect of the development programs, qualitative data can provide important information about the complexity of participation in organizations and its impact (Hulme 2000:85-87). Therefore, this section is designed to examine respondents' own perceptions regarding the benefits of participation and intentions to join organizations.

In regard to the benefits of participation, respondents whose households are involved in group-based organizations (i.e NGO groups and dwellers' own association) were requested to evaluate whether participation of the household member in organizations has brought any benefits for the household. Responses were recorded into four pre-coded categories as documented in Table 7.6. It shows that the majority of respondents have assessed the benefits of participation positively, while a small proportion of respondents have evaluated either negatively or they are uncertain about the benefits. The question arises here: how does participation benefit households? Although participation in organization helps to make savings and to get other opportunities such as educational or planning activities and health related facilities, the main aim of participation is to get a loan which helps participants in

many ways. Data reveal that among the credit recipients of NGO groups, 45.9 and 16.2 per cent took loans for the purpose of conducting a business and improving the dwelling structural conditions respectively, while around 6 per cent of recipients took loans to meet housing expenditure, treatment of illnesses, repaying a previous loan and land purchase respectively. Moreover, 86.5 per cent of credit recipients reported that they had utilized the loans for the same purposes for which they took it. Qualitative data collected through FGDs, LHs and informal talk with participants confirmed the ways participants have benefited through participation in organizations.

Table-7.6: The percentage distribution of respondents' perceptions about the benefits of participation, future intentions to join organizations and justifications in favour of intentions

Variables and categories	Percentage	Number in sample
Whether your household has benefited from participation		147
Yes, a lot	49.0	
Yes, a little	34.7	
Not, at all	8.8	
Uncertain	7.5	
Whether you like to join organization, if you are not involved		386
Yes	47.7	
No	52.3	
Justifications in favour of decision		386
Yes		
It will help to be able to run a business	22.0	
When I am able to repay the loan	7.8	
It will help to make savings	7.3	
It will provide the opportunity to get a loan	5.2	
Others	5.4	
No		
I do not have ability to repay the loan	15.0	
No guarantee for the money back of savings	8.5	
Getting into extra trouble in daily life	4.9	
Another household member is involved	3.6	
I do not know anything about this	3.6	
Others (old aged, eviction threat, high interest, misbehaviour, religious obligation)	16.6	

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Respondents who were not personally involved in organizations were asked whether or not they would like to join an organization and to provide reasons in favour of their intentions in order to reveal dwellers' understanding about the importance of organizational involvement and whether the reported justifications are influenced by any organization or participant related barriers that prevent the dwellers from participation in organizations.

Intentions of joining organizations were recorded in three pre-coded categories: yes, no and uncertain, and reported justifications in favour of intentions were recorded through an open-ended question. These justifications are categorized into 11 groups under the three types of intentions. An examination of these categories suggest that those who are uncertain, in fact, are in favour of joining organizations, and this uncertainty is conditioned by some factors. For instance, the category 'when I am able to repay the loan' indicates that the uncertainty of participation depends on future conditions, but these respondents are basically in favour of participation in organizations. Therefore, the uncertain group is recoded with the group of respondents who are in favour of participation, and 11 categories of justifications are regrouped under two types of intentions: yes and no as documented in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6 reveals that a little less than 50 per cent of currently non-participating HHs would like to join an organization, while the remaining do not want to do so. On the basis of these two intentions if the reported justifications are analyzed, it can be seen that the main barrier to joining an organization is the respondents' ability to repay the loan. On the other hand, some respondents mentioned that the high interest rate and the misbehaviour of organizers (particularly when the instalment is not given regularly) are the reasons for not participating in organizations. These two reasons can be considered as organizational barriers that discourage dwellers to join organizations. More importantly, no participant has raised the notion of selectivity by stating that they were refused entry to an organization. In order to check the validity of these survey data, a common question was raised in all FGDs whether there were any rigid criteria for selecting people for groups. Participants responded that NGOs workers asked about the reputation of potential participants, whether their family lives in the *basti* and whether they have the ability to deposit the savings regularly. Therefore, according to these participants, there is no rigid selectivity concerns. The justifications in Table 7.6 suggest that dwellers are well aware about the activities of organizational involvement, and that the decision of not joining organizations is largely influenced by dwellers' self-assessed inability to cope with the organizational procedures. Hence, a section of dwellers voluntarily keep themselves out of organizational involvement, and this section of dwellers appears to be the most disadvantaged migrants in *basti*.

Summary

It is evident that getting involved in group-based organizations has brought some benefits to households. It is likely that running a petty business with the received loan improves the household's livelihood through economic development, but in particular, utilizing loans in improving housing conditions or for the treatment of sick members has an immediate impact on the QOL of dwellers. A small proportion of participants took loan for meeting these needs apart from economic benefits, and no significant variations were found in most non-economic aspects of life among the groups according to the participation status (Table 7.4). However, these opportunities for economic benefits or meeting other needs are not shared by the most disadvantaged section of dwellers because of the fact that this section could not meet the basic requirements (such as deposit regular savings) of organizational membership. So it can be argued that the main reason for non-membership is the selectivity of organizations- they exclude the very poor. On the other hand, it is apparent that this non-participation is a result of the self-withdrawal decision of dwellers in realizing their inability to cope with the organizational procedures, as discussed above.

7.5 *Conclusion*

This chapter has examined two development approaches to improve the *basti* situation in Dhaka, and some significant findings can be summarized from the analysis. First, although 50 per cent of respondents have shown their intentions to return to their places of origin, these intentions do not necessarily guarantee return. Rather these intentions indicate a strong desire to go back to the place of origin in the future. It has appeared that *basti* dwellers are very anxious about the eviction threat, which keeps them under pressure to consider a likely return to the place of origin. But the multivariate analysis has revealed that the probability of any return to the place of origin depends on a combination of factors such as asset-holding status in the place of origin, HHs' sex and educational level, household size, and the duration of migration in Dhaka. These are the factors that need to be taken into account for the selection of migrants if any programs are initiated on the basis of return migration.

Second, the MCA model in the preceding chapter has revealed that HHs' sex and educational level, the composition of household earners, the length of stay in the current

basti, the current community of residence and the status of household involvement in group-based organizations are the main factors for determining different aspects of life. Among these factors, household involvement in group-based organizations has shown the most consistent positive effect on achievement. As the effect of organizational involvement was moderated by the household equivalent income, the issue of selectivity towards the higher income group emerged for further examination. In this regard, although Section 7.4 could not establish any causal relationship between household participation in group-based organizations and the level of QOL, it is apparent that involvement in group-based organizations has a positive impact on the QOL, and heads of the households have generally evaluated the benefits of their household participation positively. It is also important to note that less variation has been found in most community level variables (such as proportion of children attending schools, housing structure, sanitation facilities and garbage disposal) between households according to their participation status. However, in considering every aspect of QOL, it has emerged that it is the poorest section of migrants who do not participate in development programs. The exclusion of this section of migrants from the development organizations is not determined by organizational barriers. Rather their perceived inability to cope with the organizational activities keeps them out of participation. Finally, this chapter suggests that these two development approaches can be considered as useful ways to improve *basti* situations, but both are likely to be applied to only a limited extent.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

This thesis has examined the causes and consequences of poverty-induced migration and its relationship to improvement of the *basti* situations in Dhaka. Through the application of the comprehensive framework set out in Chapter 2, it has been possible to identify the factors accelerating the *basti* migration, to measure the achievements in terms of quality of life (QOL), and to ascertain the likely effectiveness of two development approaches for the improvement of the *basti* situations. The quantitative analysis has been supplemented by qualitative data to provide deeper understanding of the process of migration and settlement. The findings of this research contribute to the current understanding of the formation of *basti* populations and their life circumstances in Dhaka in particular, and similar phenomena seen in other mega-cities in developing countries in general. In addition, this research makes a contribution to the development of alternative theories of urban poverty dealing with poverty-induced migration towards urban centres.

This chapter first highlights the major findings of this research and briefly discusses concrete policy issues based on these findings. Then some suggestions regarding further research are put forward, and finally, some concluding remarks are made.

8.1 *Findings and policy issues regarding the causes of migration*

The examination of the causes of migration in Chapter 5 has revealed that migration is directly related to the state of the agricultural sector because one-fourth of respondents were cultivators before migrating to Dhaka. A considerable proportion of respondents have migrated to Dhaka because of the collapse of the traditional handloom machines as a result of the introduction of power loom machines. Although most respondents have migrated from rural areas because of poverty-related reasons, the community of recent migrants (Jhilpar) varies from the communities of long-term migrants (Daroger tak and Bangabandhu) in terms of immediate reasons for migration and respondents' characteristics. The respondents of Jhilpar reported lower destitution, but a higher incidence of pull factors such as job hunting and a higher income when compared to the communities of long-term migrants. Similarly, respondents of Jhilpar have been found to be more advanced than the other two communities in terms of their pre-migration

characteristics. This variation indicates the increasing role of pull factors in migration flows as development progresses in Dhaka. This finding raises the issue of regional development policies or the decentralization of development to encourage people to stay in their regions of origin. In other words, it is important to consider regional aspects of policy and to minimize regional disparities in order to reduce the volume of migrants towards cities (Jones 1983:32).

However, *basti* migration is not solely the result of economic push factors. It is also associated with regional differences in social and cultural practices because some specific districts such as Barisal, Barguna, Madaripur, Shariatpur, Sherpur, Comilla and Brahminbaria send most migrants to Dhaka's *basti*. The social norms and values shared by the migrants from these districts with their fellow villagers give them courage to face the challenge and uncertainties of *basti* life, while migrants from other districts are likely to respond negatively to *basti* life. Therefore, regional differences in terms of social norms and values may help in finding ways to reduce the *basti* migration flow.

8.2 *Findings and policy issues regarding the consequences of migration*

Chapter 6 has measured the achievements of migrants and revealed that migrants are poor in terms of both quantitative and qualitative values of their life across five domains of life. But there are some important differences in achievements raising the priority in the policy agenda for the development of *basti* dwellers. Although migrants in *basti* are economically poorer than the urban population in Bangladesh, the important point is that poor migrants support themselves. This is made quite evident from the findings of this research which has shown that, along with household heads (HHs), other members of the household including women are involved in different types of occupations to support their families. In examining the sources of income, this research has not found any evidence that the survival of households depends on relief from the government, NGOs or other institutions. More importantly, according to the respondents' self-assessment, the migration decision has been profitable for most households particularly in the case of households' economic and nutritional conditions. This is an indication of the success of migration in meeting the very basic needs related to the economic and nutritional domains of life.

In considering the three other domains of life, it has been found that migrants live in an appalling environment where the access to different services including education, health and basic amenities is limited and mainly restricted to informal providers. Hence, the quality of these services is very low and irregular. In addition, *basti* dwellers' lives are jeopardized by the vulnerable security conditions in terms of the threat of eviction and personal security and freedom from violence and crime. At a community level, security from eviction is important because migrants live in illegal settlements, but so too is protection from other forms of harassment, bearing down mostly upon women. These experiences suggest that the important development issues for poor migrants are how to provide access to education, health and basic amenities, and how to protect them from different types of harassment. In other words, the primary objective of development programs should be the application of social service expenditures to improve the quality of heath care and schooling, access to basic amenities and assurance of neighbourhood security.

In examining the determinants of the achievements, the MCA model has shown that different aspects of life are influenced by different factors such as HHs' sex and educational level, the composition of household earners, the length of stay in the current *basti*, the current community of residence and the status of household involvement in group-based organizations. Among these factors, household involvement in organizations has shown the most consistent positive effect on achievement. But the notion of selectivity for participation in organizations emerged for further examination since the effect of organizational involvement was moderated by household equivalent income. However, the important finding from the comparative analysis of the three communities is that the poor in the less affluent community are not necessarily worse off in every aspect of life, as despite having the lowest level of household equivalent income, Bangabandhu has a better achievement in some aspects of life (education, health and basic amenities) than the other two communities. This better level of achievement in Bangabandhu is largely influenced by the mobilization in this community through the community-based organization (CBO).

8.3 *Findings and policy issues in ameliorating basti problems*

Dhaka cannot house its growing urban population, but at the same time it cannot permit the *basti* settlements to expand endlessly. The eviction policy has been criticized as being inhumane and ineffective because no alternative accommodation was offered in most cases. Instead of solving the housing problem, *basti* eradication worsens the situation because destroying existing settlements means a reduction in the housing stock as well as a capital loss to the poor families who have invested their savings in their dwellings. The *basti* phenomenon is not only a matter of solving housing problems; it is broadly associated with the alleviation of urban poverty. Therefore, Chapter 7 has examined the likely effectiveness of two development approaches in improving Dhaka's *basti* problems.

8.3.1 Development on the basis of the return aspect of migration

Chapter 7 has shown that although a large proportion (48.4 per cent) of respondents intend to return to their places of origin, these intentions do not provide any guarantee that they will return to their origin in the future. It is evident that a little less than 80 per cent of respondents are uncertain about a return to their origin, while the remainder have already decided not to return. According to the respondents' reported reasons, a number of economic and social factors along with the eviction threat have influenced respondents to return to origin. But the multivariate analysis has shown that these intentions are, in fact, closely related to a wide range of factors such as individual and household characteristics and migratory settlement experiences. The asset-holding status of households has appeared as the main determinant of the variation in intentions to return to origin. Households having no assets in the place of origin are less likely to return, while as the types (or amount) of assets increases, the likelihood of returning to origin increase. Apart from this determinant, HHs' sex, their educational level, household size and the length of stay in Dhaka influence the intention to return to origin. It is apparent that households having female heads, heads with a higher level of education, a larger household size or those who have been in Dhaka for a longer period of time are less likely to return to origin.

These findings provide clarifications in the debate of the effectiveness of returning migrants to their areas of origin. As the selection criterion of returnees for the *Ghare Phera* program was exclusively based on the ownership of assets in the area of origin, it appears that this selection criterion was partially supported. During the fieldwork, it was reported

that some households returned to their origin from Daroger tak *basti* under the *Ghare Phera* program, while one recipient household stayed in the same *basti*. In the life history, the head of this household stated that he has been in Dhaka for about 30 years, and thus, it is not possible to return to his village. He explained that that after living in the urban community for a long time, it would be hard for him to adapt to village life. But he acknowledged that he borrowed some property (a house with some land) in the village from his relatives and stayed in this property with his family for some days in order to get the loan for his business in Dhaka. It is apparent that this beneficiary did not fulfil the main selection criteria as he did not own his property. In addition, he had been a long-term migrant in Dhaka, and this long-term urban experience had affected his decision not to return to origin.

However, it is argued that given the narrowing economic opportunities in the rural areas, the beneficiaries may return to Dhaka again (Rahman 2001:57). Although the cross-sectional data of this research are not able to answer this question directly, the analysis shows that the likelihood of rehabilitation in the village increases as the amount of assets in the places of origin increases, suggesting that migrants having a considerable amount of assets may stay if assistance is provided. Moreover, qualitative data suggest that migrants cautiously consider their prospects in origin before return there, and they do not like to go back if the government assistance (loan) in addition to their property are gauged to be not enough to support their families. In contrast, some residents are aware of their general negative image in the wider urban society (Chapter 6), and these residents are looking for opportunities to leave the *basti* environment. Therefore, this research suggests that if migrants are properly selected according to the characteristics mentioned above, a proportion of migrated households may be returned successfully to their areas of origin. In other words, the concept of return migration can be useful to ameliorate *basti* problems in Dhaka but only to a limited extent.

8.3.2 Development on the basis of organizational interventions

Chapter 6 has revealed that participation in group-based organizations (i.e. NGO groups and dwellers' own associations) has a positive effect on five aspects of *basti* life including the progress index in Dhaka. Taking several aspects of life into account, Chapter 7 has shown a substantial difference in the achieved life situation of households participating in

group-based organizations and those not participating. The QOL is poorer for households that have never participated in organizations than for households that have. Although the multivariate analysis has shown that ownership of dwellings and land in the place of origin are the two main determinants of household participation in organizations, respondents' perceptions have revealed that there is no rigid discrimination in participation in organizations. The exclusion of the poorer section of households has been a result of the nature of the programs since the activities of organizations are credit-oriented, and depositing mandatory regular savings is unlikely to be affordable to the poorer households. A major problem of participation in organizations is that of continuity. To start participation is difficult, but to continue it is even more so. In realizing this reality, poorer households decide not to participate in organizations.

Apart from this issue, Chapter 7 has demonstrated that participation in group-based organizations has benefited the participants mostly through provision of income-generating opportunities. But in the case of educational and physical needs, variables such as children's education, sanitation facilities, garbage disposal and housing structure, less variation has appeared between the groups according to their participation status. This finding questions the effectiveness of participation in group-based credit organizations as a means of improving the QOL. Earlier findings have already identified these as areas that should be given priority in the policy of development programs.

In this regard, it has been found that despite having been the economically poor community, Bangabandhu has a better achievement in educational, health and physical aspects of life than the other two communities, and this better achievement is largely influenced by mobilization in Bangabandhu through the CBO. The question may arise as to why community mobilization is stronger in Bangabandhu than in the other two communities. Primarily, the strong integration of the Bangabandhu community is related to dwelling ownership because more than 90 per cent of households live in their own dwellings, and this has brought the households together to work for a common interest in order to have a better life. Secondly, this community is politically integrated (Chapter 4) and this political motivation encourages residents to be united to protect themselves from any external threats. This does not mean that their political beliefs have inspired them, rather what was found is that their common political identity has made it easier for them to

be united. These two factors are important to integrate the community, and this strong integration has resulted in the formation of an active *basti* committee which takes care of the overall management of the community life including running community-based projects.

Therefore, it is clear that an important issue concerning the development of *basti* dwellers is not their lack of integration into the development process but the forms of their integration: group-based organizations or CBOs. This research has shed some light on this important policy issue, which constitutes a key part of the development process. When the poor are geographically integrated with the non-poor as is commonly found in rural communities, the feasibility of community-level interventions may be limited in regard to the authentic participation of the poorest section of people and equal benefits for members. *Basti* dwellers, on the other hand, are all disadvantaged and all suffer from lack of access to social needs such as education, health and basic amenities. Although these needs are associated with the public institutional capacity and household circumstances, they are largely affected by a lack of confidence resulting from the fear of eviction. Therefore, *basti* dwellers are homogeneous in the way that most of them are migrants from rural areas and they have a common interest to get access to basic services by overcoming their illegal status. In this regard, Bangabandhu has demonstrated the effectiveness of community-based interventions.

The CBO raises the issue of power in a way that differs from the empowerment of the poor through NGO group-based interventions. While the CBO brings the residents of a community together for the common interest, participants in NGO credit groups are empowered individually for mainly economic gains. This is an important conceptual distinction between these two approaches. It is not suggested that NGO group-based interventions are not needed. Rather it is the mutuality of the two approaches that is important. As migrants support themselves by taking advantage of economic opportunities in Dhaka, they should be united through the CBO to improve their human capital (education and health) and living environment (basic amenities and neighbourhood security). External interventions are essential in this mobilization process as there is lack of confidence and fear in the community. Moreover, these interventions must not be merely well targeted but also carefully designed to meet the specific needs of poor migrants. In this

regard, NGOs seem to be the appropriate organizations as has been seen in the case of the water and electricity project in Bangabandhu and the child-care centre in Daroger tak (Chapter 4). It is also evident that NGOs are actively participating in social welfare activities in most Asian countries (Luthra 1991:243). Once the community establishes its right to a project, it is likely that the project will not only be cost-effective, but also sustainable for the residents' own interest. The CBO helps to develop a patron-client relationship between the government/NGO functionaries and the residents of the community, and in this relationship, the government is seen as the facilitator rather than the provider of services (Luthra 1991:240).

While this research recommends the CBO approach for the development of the *basti* environment, the tenure of land or legal status of settlement for the urban poor is a laudable objective. In this regard, the length of stay in the current *basti* has emerged as an important determinant for achievement (Chapter 6), and this finding provides an indication of the importance of stability of residence in the *basti* in the face of the risk of eviction. It is often argued in one breath that land and housing are central to basic urban services (Kingsley 1991:38). The resolution of the land issue is prior to the resolution of the problem of shelter and land is not a technical issue but largely a political and institutional one (Angel et al 1983 cited in Kingsley 1991:39). This research was not designed to address this issue, but it is a fact that it is neither possible for the government to provide ownership to all *basti* settlements nor to evict them. Accepting the reality of *basti* settlement, fixed-term tenure could be provided to *basti* communities for their improvement. This fixed-term period would allow dwellers to resettle somewhere else by their own efforts or under targeted resettlement or rehabilitation programs. During this period, community-based interventions would enable dwellers to take full advantage of the new possibilities for their own development. More importantly, if poor migrants are organized through CBOs, it will be easier for the government to negotiate with the communities in solving their problems as has occurred in persuading squatters to share land in Bangkok, and in contracting with private developers to build low-income units in Manila and Seoul (Luthra 1991:243).

8.4 *The prospect for future research*

While rural-urban migration results in the proliferation of unplanned *basti* settlement in Dhaka, few studies have been undertaken in this regard, and most of them have focused on the way of life in *basti*. Although the present research has contributed ideas regarding the causes and consequences of *basti* migration and the prospects for development approaches to improve *basti* situations, there are some important areas that future research should address. First, this project has revealed that *basti* migration is very selective in terms of migrants' origins and this selectivity is, to some extent, influenced by the variation in socio-cultural perceptions between regions. Further research might be conducted at the place of origin rather than destination in order to discover how people are influenced by the societal norms to move into urban *basti*. Second, it has been documented in this research that there is an approximately 9 per cent annual out movement from *basti* and these movements take place mainly from *basti* to *basti*, but the dimension of movement and related reasons remain largely unexplored. In particular, an in-depth investigation of movements from *basti* to *mahalla* and *basti* to the place of origin may provide some significant clarifications of the *basti* migration process. Finally, it is hard to show the life-cycle effects of migration from a cross-sectional data set. Therefore, longitudinal or deep retrospective studies should be undertaken to reveal the changes in the *basti* migration process and in the life cycles of migrants. Moreover, longitudinal research would be effective in evaluating the effects of changes in achievement resulting from participation in organizations.

8.5 *Conclusion*

While the economy of the country is still in the doldrums and urbanization is on the increase, it can be expected that *basti* will persist and even more areas may be swamped by *basti* settlement. Hence, urban poverty in the form of the proliferation of *basti* cannot be seen in isolation from an urban development policy. The past experience from Dhaka and other cities elsewhere suggests that eviction will not solve the *basti* problem; rather eviction makes the situation worse. The general argument is that the nation must construct an integrated urban development policy that addresses the existence and importance of *basti* settlement, and this urban policy must be incorporated with the national development policy. With regard to the formation of such an integrated urban development policy or

national development policy, this research has shed light on some specific issues by examining the causes and consequences of poverty-induced migration.

This research has shown that migrants vary according to their migration behaviour, achievements and in the formation of poor urban communities. This divergent situation calls for a diversity of approaches to improve *basti* situations. This research suggests that a rehabilitation program based on return migration can be a viable strategy to a limited extent provided that migrants are correctly selected. Since it is not possible to send all migrants back to their places of origin or evict them from their settlements, community-based interventions by NGOs can be promoted to improve the living environment of *basti* settlement. In regard to these policy implications, it should be mentioned that development programs for *basti* settlement have been hampered by the frequent changes of government (Chapter 3), and thus, whatever programs are undertaken, a bipartisan approach to ensure the continuation of programs is crucial for achieving beneficial outcomes. Finally, a combination of different programs rather than an exclusive program is needed to improve the *basti* situations in Dhaka.

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Appendix-A: Tables

Table-A1: Townsend's deprivation index

Sl No	Indicators
1	Has not had a week's holiday away from home in last 12 months
2	*Adults only*. Has not had a relative or friend to the home for a meal or snack in the last 4 weeks
3	*Adults only*. Has not been out in the last 4 weeks to a relative or friend for a meal or snack
4	*Children only* (under 15). Has not had a friend to play or to tea in the last 4 weeks
5	*Children only*. Did not have party on last birthday
6	Has not had an afternoon or evening out for entertainment in the last two weeks
7	Does not have fresh meat (including meals out) as many as four days a week
8	Has gone through one or more days in the last past fortnight without a cooked meal
9	Has not had a cooked breakfast most days of the week
10	Household does not have a refrigerator
11	Household does not usually have a Sunday joint (3 in 4 times)
12	Household does not have sole use of four amenities indoors (flush WC; sink or washbasin and cold-water tap; fixed bath or shower; and gas or electric cooker)

Source: Townsend 1979: 250

Table-A2: Level of living components and typical indicators: Swedish level of living surveys

Domains	Indicators
Health and access to health care	Ability to walk 100 metres, various symptoms of illness, contacts with doctors and nurses
Employment and working conditions	Unemployment experiences, physical demands of work, possibilities to leave the place of work during work hours
Economic resources and consumer protection	Income and wealth, property, ability to cover unforeseen expenses of up to $1,000 within a week
Education and skills	Years of education, level of education reached
Family and social relations	Marital status, contacts with relatives and friends
Housing and housing area services	Number of persons per room, housing amenities
Recreation	Vacation trips, leisure time pursuits
Security of life and property	Exposure of violence and thefts
Political resources	Voting in elections, membership of political parties and unions, ability to file complaints

Source: Erikson 1993: 68

Table-A3: Definition and measurement of variables for dynamics of migration

Name of variables	Definition and measurement
(Push-pull factors)	
Reasons for migration <RESON>	The reasons for moving to Dhaka reported by respondents are classified under the push and pull dichotomy: **Push factors** Economic 1=destitution (when lacking food or financial crisis to run the family was reported by the respondent), 2=unemployment (when a respondent reported that there was no work in the place of origin or lost the job), 3=failure in business, 4=landlessness, 5=indebted Social 6=family conflict, 7=dacoity/robbery' (including hostility) Physical 8=river erosion (including cases who reported flood) **Pull factors** Economic 9=hunting for jobs, 10=earning more (those who mentioned to run the family smoothly and do some savings as more opportunities are in Dhaka) Social 11=relatives' persuasion (generally these relatives are already in Dhaka), 12=marriage, 13=better life **Parental decisions** 14=came with parents at childhood (those who reported that they were brought by their parents while they were children)
(Selectivity of movement)	
Age at migration <AGEMI>	Age of respondents is measured by completed years and categorized into the following groups: 1 = <15, 2=15-19, 3=20-24, 4=25-29, 5=30-34, 6=35-39, 7=40-44, 8=45+
Sex of respondents <SEX>	1=male and 2=female
Educational level <EDUCA>	The highest class passed determines respondents' educational levels. Religious and technical education is adjusted with general education as equivalent scale: 1=never attended, 2=class I-V, 3=class VI-X, and 4=SSC and above
Previous labour force participation <PLFOR>	The status of previous labour force of respondents is measured based on the immediate situation before migrating to Dhaka: **Employed** 1=cultivator (own and/or others land), 2=business men (including hawkers and vendors), 3=labourer (mainly day labourers including workers in different factories/mills and maid servants), 4=weaver (including sewing and tailoring), 5=rickshaw puller (including van puller), 6=other non-agricultural activities (such as carpenter, mason, and different service)

Table-A3 (continued)

Name of variables	Definitions and measurement
	Not in labour force 7=housewife, 8=student, 9=children less than 14 yrs old
	Unemployment 10=unemployed
Assets in the place of origin <ASSET>	Reported assets in the place of origin are categorized into four groups: 1=homestead (with or without dwelling houses), 2=land (other than homestead), 3=homestead and land, and 4=assetless,
(Patterns of movement)	
Rural-urban migration <RURBA>	Rural-urban migration is measured based on the previous place of living immediately before moving to Dhaka, categorizing that place into two groups: 1=yes (rural-urban), and 2=no (urban-urban)
Place of origin of migrants <DISOR>	There are 64 districts in Bangladesh under six divisions. Origins of migrants are measured by the main districts of each division from which migrants are in a relative large proportion and putting the rest of the migrants from the same division into 'other' group. Similarly, if a relative small proportion of migrants are from a whole division, the division is categorized: 1=Barisal, 2=Barguna, 3=Patuakhali, 4=others (Barisal division), 5=Madaripur, 6=Shariatpur, 7=Mymensingh, 8=Sherpur, 9=others (Dhaka division), 10=Comilla, 11=Brahmanbaria, 12=other (Chittagong division), 13=Other divisions (Rajshahi, Khulna and Sylhet)
Direct migration <DIREC>	Direct migration is defined as the process in which people migrate directly from their places of origin to the destination (Dhaka) without staying any intermediate places. This process is measured here by two terms: 1=yes, 2=no
Prior visit to Dhaka <PVISI>	Whether respondents have had one (or more) prior visit before migrating to Dhaka is measured by only a dichotomous variable: 1=yes and 2=no
Initially family migration <FMIGR>	At first whether respondents have migrated alone or with family is determined by two groups: 1=yes, with family and 2=no, alone
(Rural-urban control subsystems)	
Source of migration <SOURC>	Sources of information regarding Dhaka city are categorized into four groups: 1=from relatives, 2=from friends (including village acquaintances), 3=personal search, and 4=no information (did not have any prior information)
Decision of migration <DECIS>	Decision of migration is taken by whom is measured by three categories of answers: 1=fully own (respondent's) decision, 2=influenced by relatives, and 3=influenced by friends (including village acquaintances)

Table-A3 (continued)

Name of variables	Definition and measurement
Initial shelter upon arrival	
<STAYW>	Upon arrival whether respondents stayed with a relative/friend/village acquaintance's home at the first night: 1=stay with relatives/friends, and 2=find a shelter somewhere else
Help find first residence	
<HELPR>	Upon arrival how respondents managed their first residence: 1=from relatives, 2=from friends (including village acquaintances), 3=personal search, and 4=others (including those who lived in the worked place)
Help find first job	
<HELPJ>	Upon arrival how respondents managed their first jobs: 1=from relatives, 2=from friends (including village acquaintances), 3=personal search, and 4=others (including those who was not doing anything since migration)
(Urban-rural links)	
Relatives in the place of origin	
<RELAT>	Whether relatives are in the place of origin is determined by a dichotomous variable: 1=yes and 2=no
Visiting the place of origin in the last 12 months	
<VISIT>	Whether respondents visited their place of origin in the last 12 months (from the date of survey) are measured by four precoded groups: 1=yes, once, 2=yes, twice, 3=yes, more than twice, and 4=no, didn't
Remittances sent to the place of origin	
<REMIT>	Remittances are measured both in monetary and non-monetary units, and these units are categorized into four groups: 1=regular monetary aid, 2=occasional monetary aid, 3=non-monetary aid, and 4=no assistance

Table-A4: Variables used in the discriminant analysis and their mean values across the three *basti*

Variables/dummy variables	Name of *basti*			F (2, 408)
	Bangabandhu	Daroger tak	Jhilpar	
Age at migration in single year <AGEMI>	25.45	24.69	27.19	2.16 ns
Sex <SEX>	0.26	0.19	0.11	5.94**
1=female 0=male				
Dummy for educational level <EDUCA>				
EDUCA1 1= never attended, 0=otherwise	0.56	0.62	0.41	8.28***
EDUCA2 1=class I-V, 0=otherwise	0.30	0.20	0.35	4.30*
EDUCA3 1=class VI-X, 0=otherwise	0.14	0.14	0.18	0.51 ns
Dummy for labour force participation <PLFOR>				
PLOFR1 1=cultivator, 0=otherwise	0.27	0.19	0.26	1.17 ns
PLOFR2 1=business, 0=otherwise	0.12	0.09	0.16	1.83 ns
PLOFR3 1=labourer, 0=otherwise	0.18	0.15	0.14	0.44 ns
PLOFR4 1=weaver, 0=otherwise	0.00	0.16	0.05	11.56***
PLOFR5 1=rickshaw puller, 0=otherwise	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.69 ns
PLOFR6: 1=other non-agricultural activities, 0=otherwise	0.05	0.08	0.09	0.66 ns
PLOFR7 1=unemployed, 0=otherwise	0.08	0.12	0.07	0.94 ns
Dummy for assets in the village <ASSET>				
ASSET1 1=homestead & land, 0=otherwise	0.15	0.18	0.32	6.60**
ASSET2 1=homestead, 0=otherwise	0.31	0.25	0.35	1.70 ns
ASSET3 1=assetless, 0=otherwise	0.52	0.50	0.30	9.88***
Length of residence in single year <LIVED>	17.54	16.47	10.13	30.03***
Number in sample	84	120	207	

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Note: a) Does not include 49 migrants who were brought by their parents.
b) *, **, *** and ns indicate P<0.05, P<0.01, P<0.001 and Not significant (P>0.05) respectively.
c) In EDUCA and ASSET, the reference categories are SSC & above and Land respectively. In PLOFR, three categories under 'Not in labour force' merged together to consider as the reference category.

Table-A5: Definition and measurement of indicators of the QOL

Name of variables	Definition and measurement
(Domain: Economic)	
Household equivalent income	
<EINCO>	First, household income is measured from all sources of monthly disposable income in Taka (Bangladesh currency). This measure includes income from both the principal and second gainful occupations, in which household members are employed, and income from other sources including kind, which is converted to Taka. Then this household income is transferred to the household equivalent income by using the OECD equivalence scale in which an adult household member is weighted 1.0, and then additional each adult and child (less than 14 years) is assigned 0.7 and 0.5 respectively.
Labour force status	
<LABOR>	Status of labour force participation of household members is defined in the following ways 1=employed (those who are engaged in any types of paid or gainful occupation irrespective of duration), 2=unpaid family workers (those who are not paid but helping other family members to earn), 3=unemployed (those who are between 14 and 60 years old but involuntarily out of gainful employment), 4=not in labour force (members who are not in direct economic activities in which a person usually pursues to earn income. It includes housewife, students, dependents such as children less than 14 years old and aged person more than 60 years, retired members, and disabled persons)
Present principal occupation	
<OCCU>	Present principal occupation of employed members is categorized into the following groups. If a member worked in more than one occupation, the occupation in which maximum working hours were spent is considered as the principal occupation, and thus, the occupation other than this principal one is regarded as the second occupation. The principal occupational categories are as follows: 1=petty businessmen (those who are self-employed in their own small scale market operations including hawkers), 2=garment workers, 3=rickshaw pullers, 4=maid servants, 5=labourers, 6=construction workers (mainly housing), 7=factory workers, 8=drivers, 9=security guards, 10=shop assistants, 11=office assistants, 12=others (including *tokai* those who collect different types of left-overs for further sale, cleaners, beggars etc)

Table-A5 (continued)

Name of variables	Definition and measurement
Household savings status	
<SAVE>	After living costs, any type of savings (obviously in terms of cash) is considered as household savings. Three pre-coded responses are assigned by a three-point scale to make an ordinal variable in the following way: 0=no, 1=yes, occasionally, and 2=yes, regularly
Household indebtness status	
<INDET>	Indebtness is measured by the household status of having loans. Respondents were asked whether he/she or any other members had loans. If so, it is considered that the household is in debt (irrespective of amount), and thus, it is measured by a dichotomous variable. 0=no, and 1=yes
Household durable index	
<DURAB>	An index has been constructed based on the availability of eight consumer goods with a maximum and minimum score of 8.0 and 0.0 respectively. For details please see 'Household possession index' in Section 6.1.
(Domain: Education and knowledge)	
Household highest educational attainment	
<RECEV>	This variable indicates households' highest level of educational attainment, which is received by any member of the household. The level of education is measured by the same concept documented in Table 3 of Appendix-A: 1=never attended, 2=class I-V, 3=class VI-X, and 4=SSC and above
Children's school attendance	
<DPOUT>	This variable shows the level of access to education for children aged between five and less than 14 years in every household, and this variable is measured by the proportion of household children who are currently attending school.
Health knowledge	
<PUBLI>	An index has been constructed in Section 6.1 to measure the respondent's depth of general knowledge regarding five basic heath related issues.

Table-A5 (continued)

Name of variables	Definition and measurement
(Domain: Health and nutrition)	
Household sickness status	
<ILL>	Household sickness status is determined by the absence of household members from their usual activities (work, go to school, help in the house, play i.e. what a member usually does) because of their sickness during the last 30 days from the date of the survey. Two types of sickness (sick at any time and chronic sick) were recorded. Therefore, household sickness status is measured by the following three categories: 0=no member is sick, 1=one or more members are sick only at any time, and 2=at least one member is chronically sick (when a household had both types of sickness, it was considered in this category given the importance to chronic illness)
Contraceptive prevalence status	
<FPLAN>	Every household head was asked whether he/she or their spouses use any family planning methods, and responses were recorded according to the three precoded categories: currently using, previously used and never used. Respondents who were unmarried, widow, separated, and very old were treated as 'not applicable' cases and as such considered as missing cases. Finally, responses are categorized by a dichotomous scale: 0=never used, and 1= ever used (either currently or previously)
Children immunization status	
<IMMU>	Children's immunization status is measured based on whether household children aged up to 12 months were given any immunization vaccin (irrespective of number or doses) since birth. 0=never immunized, and 1=ever immunized
Mode of treatment	
<MODE>	Heads of the households with sick members were asked about the mode of treatment for recovery, and this mode is measured by the types of served institutions or organizations: 0=no treatment, 1=medicine store, 2=NGO service, 3=private doctors (including clinics), and 4=government hospitals
Food consumption	
<FOOD>	A food consumption index has been developed based on six nutritional food items consumed by the households in the last seven days from the interview date. Please see 'Food consumption index' in Section 6.1.

Table-A5 (continued)

Name of variables	Definition and measurement
(Domain: Physical environment)	
Structural quality of dwelling	
<STRUC>	Structural quality of dwelling is determined by the types of materials used to construct floor, wall and roof. Based on these structural materials, mainly three types of housing were found in *basti,* showing from a lower to a better quality of dwelling. Hence, a three-point ordinal scale is developed to represent the housing structural quality in the following way: 1=*jhupri* (floor- mud, wall and roof- bamboo/polyphone/scrap etc), 2=*kutcha* (floor-mud, wall-bamboo/timber, and roof=tin), 3=semi-*pucca* (floor-cement, wall=brick/tin, and roof=tin)
Overcrowding	
<CROWD>	Overcrowding living condition in the household is measured by the number of household members per room irrespective of age and gender.
Access to water and electricity facilities	
<WATEL>	An index has been developed based on whether the household had the access to tap water and electricity irrespective of legal status. Please see 'Water & Electricity index' in Section 6.1.
Access to sanitation facilities	
<SANIT>	Household sanitation facilities were measured by the types of structural quality of latrines. A three-point scale is used here to weight the categories of the latrines to make an ordinal variable, showing from a very poor to a better quality of latrine facility: 0=hanging latrine (*kutcha* system in open spaces just covered by bamboo and hessian), 1=ring & slub latrine (semi-*pucca*), and 2=septic tank (*pucca*)
Access to garbage disposal facilities	
<GARBA>	Household garbage disposal facilities are measured by the types of disposal places or bins. These types can be considered as ordered categories, and thus, they are measured by a three-point scale in the following way: 0=no facility (throwing in the road), 1=in the specific space (arranged by the dwellers), and 2=in the municipal garbage bin

Table-A5 (continued)

Name of variables	Definition and measurement
(Domain: Social environment)	
Leisure and recreation	
<LEISU>	To measure the leisure time pursuits, respondents were asked to mention the way of spending their spare time. So this variable measures only household head's recreational activities rather than households' collective activities. Responses are categorized into following eight groups; 1=gossiping, 2=sleeping/doing nothing, 3=watching TV, 4=spending time with kids, 5=praying to God, 6=walking repeatedly on foot, 7=others (playing games, visiting relatives/friends etc), and 8=no time for recreation.
Eviction threat	
<EVICT>	Security in terms of eviction threats to *basti* dwellers is assessed on whether respondents (or households) have ever experienced this event. 0=never experienced, and 1=ever experienced
Security in terms of crime & violence	
<SECUR>	Security condition in *basti* is measured by respondent's self-assessed evaluation on neighbourhood crime and violence situations. 1=good, 2=poor, 3=very poor, and 4=don't know
Participation in social organizations	
<ORGAN>	Household participation in social organizations is measured by the involvement of household members in an organization. So this access is determined by a dichotomous variable 0=no, and 1=yes (at least one member is involved)
(Subjective dimension in measurement)	
Self-assessments on progress in four aspects of life	
<ASSES1> for income <ASSES2> for household durables <ASSES3> for food consumption <ASSES4> for housing conditions	Progress in four specific aspects of life namely income, household durables, food consumption and housing conditions compared to the place of origin shortly before migrating to Dhaka measured by the respondent's self-assessment. An identical precoded question was used to record respondents' perceptions in these four aspects of life, and on the basis of responses a three-point scale is developed to assign the attributes of every aspect. -1=worse off, 0=same (uncertain or don't know), and 1=better off
Progress index	
<PROGR>	An index has been constructed in Section 6.1 to specify the level of overall progress of respondents in Dhaka compared to origin.

Table-A6: Independent variables used in MCA analysis with percentage distribution

Variables/categories	%
Household heads' age (in years)	
Less than 30	21.1
30-39	33.0
40-49	26.1
50+	19.8
Household heads' sex and education (combined variable)	
Male never attended school	37.2
Male with formal education	46.7
Female never attended school	12.4
Female with formal education	3.7
Household heads' principal occupations (this variable has been modified from the earlier measurement noted in Table 5 of Appendix-A)	
Petty business	24.3
Rickshaw pulling	23.5
Different services (garment workers, security guards, shop assistants and office assistants are recoded)	14.1
Semi-skilled works (construction workers, factory workers and drivers are recoded)	14.3
Others (labourers, maid servants and others are recoded)	15.9
Unemployed	7.8
Household heads' migration status (this variable is measured according to the earlier concept mentioned in Section 5.2)	
Recent migrants (those migrated during the last 15 years)	62.2
Long-term migrants (those migrated before 15 years)	37.8
Composition of earners in households (this variable is measured according to the number of household wage earners and their sex).	42.0
Only one male	6.1
Only one female	11.1
2 or more but all males	40.8
2 or more including females	
Household participation in social organizations (as in Table 5 of Appendix-A)	
No	68.0
Yes	32.0
Current living *basti*	
Bangabandhu	21.5
Daroger tak	29.8
Jhilpar	48.7
Length of stay in the current *basti* (in years)	
Less than 5	30.9
5 - <10	48.7
10 or more	20.4
Number in sample	460

Table-A7: Independent variables used in the logistic regression model for intentions to return to the place of origin with percentage distribution, and the mean and standard deviation (in parentheses)

Variables/categories	Mean (SD)	%
Relatives in the native place and relations		
No relatives		8.0
Spouse/children (either spouse or children or both)		8.5
Parents		44.1
Brother/sisters (either sisters or brothers or both)		20.2
Other relations		19.1
Asset-holding status in the native place		
Assetless		41.5
Homestead or other land		34.8
Homestead and other land		23.7
Household heads' age (in years)	38.9 (11.7)	
Household heads' sex		
Male		83.9
Female		16.1
Household heads' educational level		
Never attended school		49.6
Class I-V		30.4
Class VI & above		20.0
Household heads' present principal occupations		
Petty business		24.3
Rickshaw pullers		23.5
Different services including garment		14.1
Semi-skilled workers		14.3
Others including labourers and maid servants		15.9
Unemployed including unpaid and not in labour force group		7.8
Household monthly equivalent income (in Taka)	1233.36 (701.35)	
Progress in Dhaka compared to the place of origin (Index)	1.4 (2.3)	
Household size (in numbers)	4.4 (2.1)	
Number of household earners	1.8 (0.9)	
Ownership status of dwelling		
Owner		53.9
Others (mainly tenants)		46.1
Initial residence was in the current *basti*		
Yes		29.6
No		70.4
Number of changes in residence in Dhaka since migration	2.8 (2.9)	
Length of stay in Dhaka (in years)	14.7 (10.3)	
Length of stay in the current *basti* (in years)	6.9 (5.4)	
Current living community in Dhaka		
Daroger tak		29.8
Bangabandhu		21.5
Jhilpar		48.7
Number in Sample	460	460

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002.

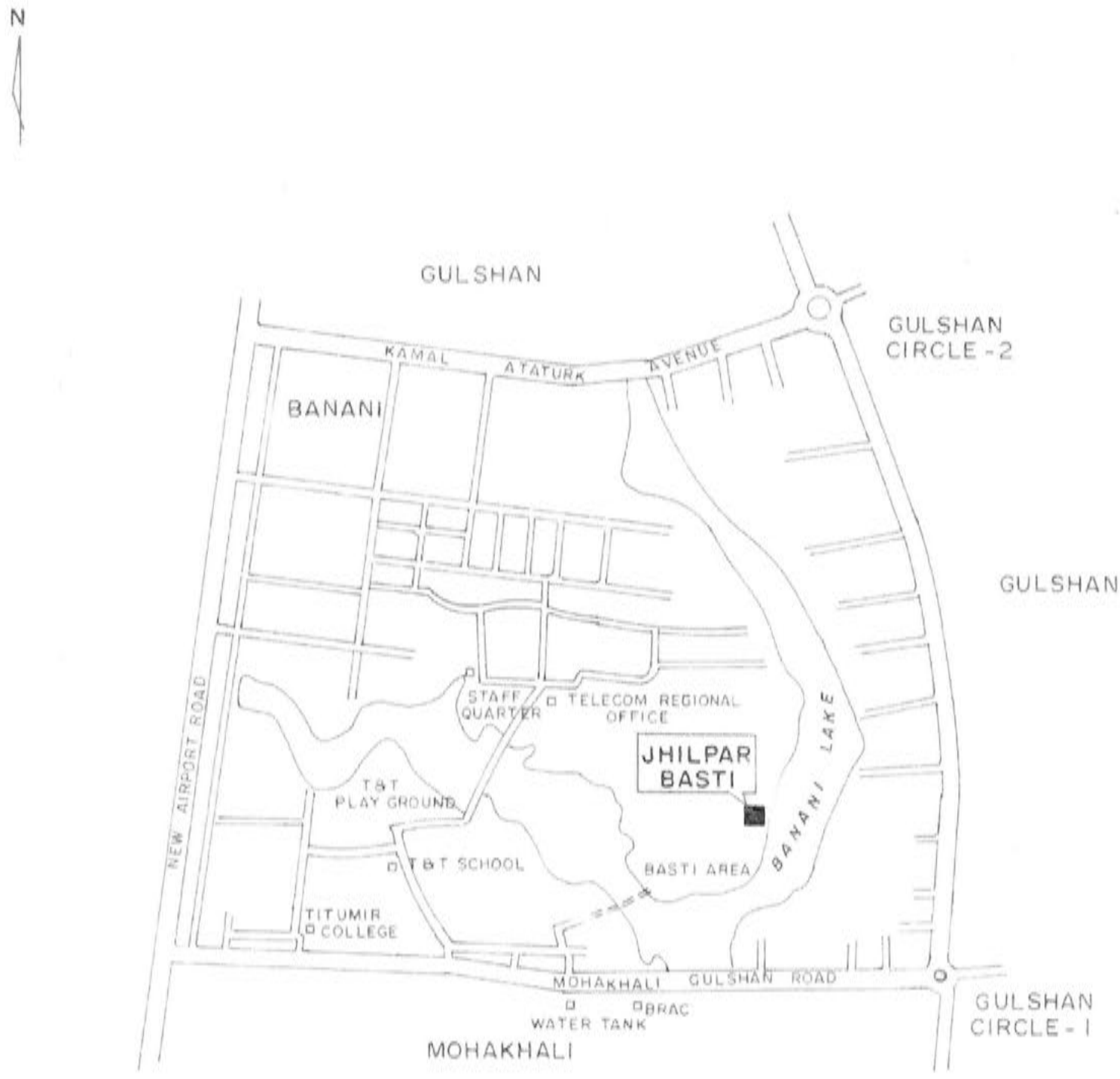
Table-A8: Independent variables used in the logistic regression model for household participation in organizations with percentage distribution, and the mean and standard deviation (in parentheses)

Variables/categories	Mean (SD)	%
Household heads' age (in years)	38.9 (11.7)	
Household heads' sex		
Male		83.9
Female		16.1
Household heads' educational level		
Never attended school		49.6
Class I-V		30.4
Class VI & above		20.0
Household heads' present principal occupations		
Petty business		24.3
Rickshaw pullers		23.5
Different services including garment		14.1
Semi-skilled workers		14.3
Others including labourers and maid servants		15.9
Unemployed including unpaid and not in labour force group		7.8
Household size (in numbers)	4.4 (2.1)	
Number of earners in the household	1.8 (0.9)	
Ownership status of dwelling		
Owner		53.9
Others (mainly tenants)		46.1
Households' sickness status		
Nobody sick		24.1
Member (s) is acute sick		59.1
At least one member is chronic sick		16.8
Household land-holding status (in acre)	0.18 (0.4)	
Households' highest educational level achieved by members aged ≥14 yrs		
No member ever attended school		24.6
Class I-V		43.7
Class VI & above		31.7
Length of stay in Dhaka (in years)	14.7 (10.3)	
Length of stay in the current community (in years)	6.9 (5.4)	
Current living community in Dhaka		
Daroger tak		29.8
Bangabandhu		21.5
Jhilpar		48.7
Number in sample	460	460

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002.

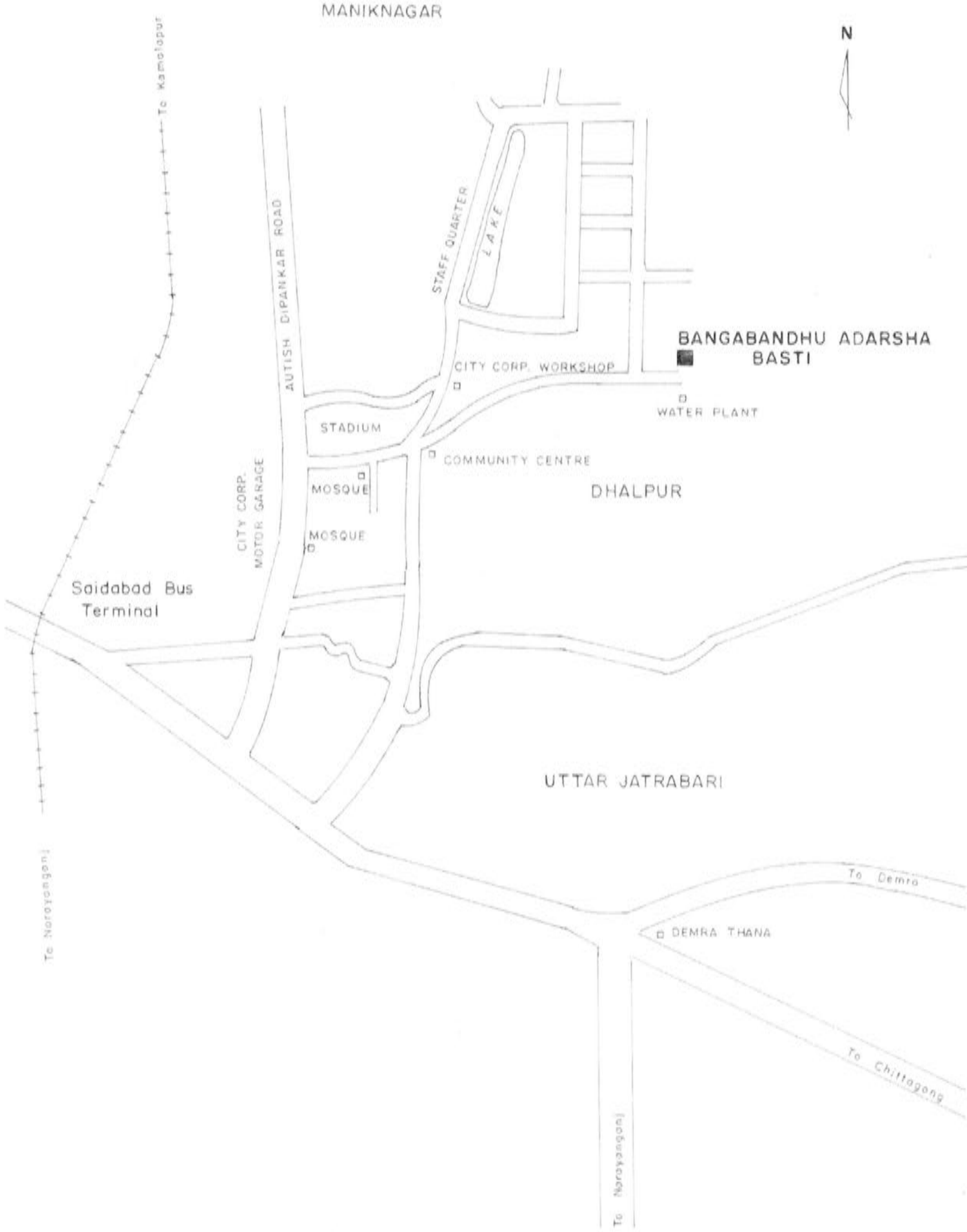
Appendix-B: Sketch maps of the study areas

Figure-B1: Sketch map of the study area: Jhilpar



Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Figure-B2: Sketch map of the study area: Bangabandhu Adarsha *Basti*



Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Figure-B3: Sketch map of the study area: Daroger tak

Source: The *Basti* Survey 2001-2002

Appendix-C: Translation of the household survey questionnaire

Code No | | | | |

Confidential (information for research purpose only)
Demography Program
The Australian National University

A household survey in Dhaka's *basti*

1. Particulars of the household

a) Identification No : b) Name of *basti* :

c) Ward No : d) Name of *thana* :

e) Name of the household head:

f) Father's name of the household head:

g) Name of the informant:

(If the household head remains absence on the third visit)

h) Informant's relations with the household head:

2. **Particulars of interview**

a) Name of the interviewer

b) Time and results of the interview

Sl No of interviewer efforts to conduct the interview	Details of visits		
	Date	Time	Results Code: 1=completed successfully, 2=incomplete, 3=listed respondent not available, 4=refused, 5=others (please specify)
1st Attempt			
2nd Attempt			
3rd Attempt			

3. Particulars of data processing

a) Name of editor : Date:

b) Name of coder : Date:

c) Name of data entrant: Date:

Background information of the household head

1. Where did you live immediately before coming to Dhaka?

   1- Village: *Thana*: District:
   2- Road/*Mahalla*: Town: District:

2. a) Was the place of above residence your native place?

   1- Yes (Skip to Q3) 2- No

   b) If no, please give the following details about your native place.

   1-Village: *Thana*: District:
   2- Road/*Mahalla*: Town: District

   c) If no, how long did you stay at the place of last residence mentioned in Q1?

   ----------Years ---------- Months

3. a) What was your employment status immediately before coming to this city?

   1- Employed 2- Unemployed 3- Housewife
   4- Student 5- Others (specify) ----------

   b) If the answer is employed, please specify the exact occupation

   ----

4. What were the main reasons for moving to Dhaka? Please specify

   a) ----------
   b) ----------
   c) ----------

5. Did anybody help you in your decision to migrate?

   1- No, decided by myself 2- Yes, family members,
   3- Yes, friends 4- Yes, village acquaintance
   5- Others(specify) ----------

6. From which of the following sources did you get information regarding Dhaka before migration?

   1- From relatives 2- From friends 3- Village acquaintance
   4- Personal search 5- Others (specify) ----------

Adaptation process upon arrival in Dhaka

7. How long have you been living in this city?

   ----------Years ----------Months

8. Did you ever visit Dhaka prior to this migration?

1- Yes 2- No

9. a) When migrated, did you come alone or with your family members?

1- Came alone
1- With family members (Skip to Q9)

b) If came alone, how later did you bring family to Dhaka?

1- ------Years-------Months 2- Still alone

10. How long have you been living in this *basti*?

----------Years ---------Months

11. On arrival, did you stay with your relatives/ friends/village acquaintance or somewhere else before you find your first residence in this city?

1- Yes: with ----------
2- No: at ----------

12. a) Did you find your first shelter/ residence in this current *basti*?

1- Yes 2- No (Skip to C)

b) If yes, have you been living in the same *basti* since you migrated to Dhaka?

1- Yes (Skip to Q13) 2- No

c) How many times have you changed your residence in this city since migration?

----------Times

13. Upon arrival, how did you find the first residence in this city?

1- Help from relatives, 2- Help from friends
3- Help from village acquaintance 4- Personal search
5- Others (specify) ----------

14. Upon arrival, how did you secure your first employment in this city?

1- Help from relatives 2- Help from friends
3- Help from village acquaintance 4- Personal search
5- Others (specify) ----------

Contacts with the place of origin

15. a) Currently do you have any relatives in the place of origin?

1- Yes 2- No (Skip to Q16)

b) If yes, please specify what relations do you have in the place of origin?

1-------- 2---------- 3---------- 4--------- 5---------- 6----------

c) If yes, do you send any assistance to your relatives? If so, what type of assistance

1- Regular monetary aid 2- Occasional monetary aid
3- Non-monetary aid 4- No assistance

16. a) Do you have any kind of assets in the place of origin?

1- Yes 2- No

b) If yes, please specify what kinds of assets do you have in the place of origin?

---

17. a) Did you visit your place of origin in the last 12 months, and how often?

1-Yes, three or more times 2- Yes, twice
3-Yes, once 4- Didn't (Skip to Q18)

b) If yes, please specify why did you visit the place of origin?

Demographic information of households in the place of destination

18. Household members - one (including servants and unrelated persons) who usually stays and eats in the household for at least six months of the year

Sl No.	Name of members (Start with the head)	Relations with head (Code)	Gender Male=1 Female=2	Age (Years)	Marital status (Code)	Labour force participation status (Code)	Place of birth Dhaka city=1 Elsewhere =2
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Code of col. 3: Self=1, Husband=2, Wife=3, Son=4, Daughter=5, Brother=6, Sister=7, Father=8, Mother=9, Cousin=10, Nephew=11, Niece=12, Boy servant/maid=13, Other relation=14, Unrelated=15.

Code of col.6: Married=1, Unmarried=2, Widow/widower=3, Divorced/separated=4, Others=5

Code of col.7: Employed=1, Unemployed=2, Housewife=3, Student=4, Retired=5, Unpaid family worker=6, Unemployable=7

Educational information of the household

19. Educational information (all members aged five years and above):

Sl No (As of Q18)	Ever attended school? Yes=1 No=2	If yes, what is the class completed (Code)	Currently attending school? Yes=1 No=2	If yes, please provide the following information			
				Types of school (Code)	Who runs the school? Govt=1 NGOs=2 Private=3	Do you pay the fee? Yes=1 No=2	Does the school provide any assistance? None=1 Food=2 Books=3 Clothes=4 Others=5
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Code of col. 3: Class I-V=1, Class VI-X=2, SSC=3, HSC=4, Tertiary=5, Technical diploma=6, Technical degree=7, *Dakhel*=8, *Alem*=9, *Fazel*=10, *Kamel*=11, Others=12.

Code of col. 5: Primary school=1, High school=2, *Madrasha*=3, Technical & Vocational school=4, College=5, University=6.

Special skill

20. a) Do you or any household members have any special skills, which has been acquired for earning purposes?

1- Yes 2- No (Skip to Q22)

b) If yes, please provide the following information.

Sl No. (As of Q18)	Type of skill (Specify)	From where skill has been acquired? (Code)	Does this skill help him/her? Yes, fully=1 Yes, little=2 Not at all=3	If this skill does not help, why? (Code)
1	2	3	4	5

Code of col.3: NGO=1, Government institution=2, Private institution=3, Others=4.

Code of col.5: Lack of credit=1, Skill is not sufficient/not trained properly=2, Don't have time to utilize it=3, Not relevant to the job market=4, Others (please specify)=5.

Economic status of the household

21. Information on occupations and income of the household's earners

Sl No. (As of Q18)	Occupation		Type of principal occupation (Code)	Monthly income (Taka)			Total monthly income (Taka) (5+6+7)
	Principal occupation (Specify exact job)	Whether has a second occupation Yes=1 No=2		From principal occupation	From second Occupation and other jobs or business	Other sources including kind (Convert to Taka)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Total							

Code of col. 4: Self-employed=1, Employee of others (individuals)=2, Employee of government and non-governmental organizations=3

22. Whether the household head or any members have any additional income from any other sources, which has not included in the previous question. Please provide information on the following, if applicable.

Sl. No.	Source of income (the source may be in this city or elsewhere, and may be in part or full ownership)	Income in the last one year, if relevant (Taka)	Income in the last one month (to be estimated) (Taka)
1	2	3	4
1	Money or food grains from the place of origin		
2	Rent from the dwelling/shop		
3	Business (not reported earlier)		
4	Sales from home products (vegetables/eggs/ poultry/milk/cottage crafts etc)		
5	Income from transport		
6	Income from private tuition		
7	Others (please specify) ----------		
Total			

23. How is your income condition compared to shortly before you migrated to Dhaka?

1- Better off 2- Same
3- Worse off 4- Uncertain/don't know

24. a) After living costs, do you make any savings?

1- Yes, regularly 2- Yes, occasionally 3- No (Skip to Q25)

b) If yes, where do you save?

1- Bank/other financial institutions 2- NGOs
3- Own associations (informal) 4- Others (including at home)

25. If you or any members have taken loans, please provide the following information.

Sl. No (As of Q18)	Sl No of loans per member	Source (Code)	Amount of loan (Taka)	Rate of interest (%-annual)	Purposes of loans (Code)	Purposes of utilization (Code)	Is the loan repaid regularly? (Code)	Currently how much the debt is? (Taka)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	1							
	2							
	3							
	1							
	2							
	3							
Total								

Code of col. 3: Bank=1, NGOs=2, Office (work place)=3, Relatives=4, Friends=5, Private moneylender=6, Others=7.

Code of col. 6: Business=1, Household expenditure=2, Housing=3, Treatment of illness=4, Land purchase=5, Repay the previous loan=6, Others=7.

Code of col. 7: Same as the original purpose=1, Different purpose=2.

Code of col. 8: Yes=1, No=2, Often (depends on ability)=3.

Health condition of the household members

26. a) Has anyone of the household been sick in the past 30 days?

1- Yes 2- No (Skip to Q27)

b) If yes, please provide the following information

Sl No. (As of Q18)	Type of sickness (Code)	For how many days in the past 30 days he/she was not able to do the things usually he/she does (e.g. work, go to school, help in the house, play)?	Mode of treatment last taken (Code)
1	3	4	5

Code of col.3: At any time in the last 30 days=1, Chronically ill/disabled in the last 30 days=2

Code of col.5: No treatment=1, Government hospital=2, Private clinic=3, NGO health workers/doctors/health centres=4, Private doctor=5, Medicine store=6, Own/Elders' knowledge=7, Homeopathy/ Ayurvedic/Unany=8, Others=9.

27. a) Is there any child in your household, who is one year or less than one year old.

1- Yes 2- No (Skip to Q28)

b) If yes, please provide the following information

Sl No of the child (As of Q18)	How many injections or doses have already been given to the child for immunization purposes (number)

28. Are you and/or your spouse currently using any family planning methods?

1- Yes 2- No, but previously used 3- Never used

Food and nutrition condition of the household

29. Whether the household members consumed the following types of food in the last seven days, and how often (please tick the appropriate box).

Types of food		None (0 days)	Rarely (1 day)	Some days (2-4 days)	Most days (5-6 days)	Every day (7 days)
1		2	3	4	5	6
1	Rice					
2	Wheat (*Ruti*)					
3	Fish					
4	Vegetables					
5	Pulse (*Dal*)					
6	Meat					
7	Egg					
8	Milk					
9	Sweet					
10	Fruit					

30. How is your household food consumption condition compared to shortly before you migrated to Dhaka?

1- Better off 2- Same
3- Worse off 4- Uncertain/don't know

Ownership of Land

31. a) Do you own any land?

1- Yes 2- No (Skip to Q32)

b) If yes, where and how much land do you have?

In Dhaka city	Place of origin	Elsewhere	Total (in decimal)

Quality of housing

32. How do you use this dwelling?

1- Full owner 2- Part/joint owner
3- Tenant in private owned house 4- Tenant in government/semi-government house
5- Sub tenant 6- Use without payment
7- Live Illegally 8- Others (specify ---------)

33. What is the structural type of your dwelling?

1- *Pucca* building (cement floor/brick wall/concrete roof)
2- Semi-*pucca* (cement floor/brick or tin wall/tin roof)
3- *Kutcha* (mud floor/timber wall/tin roof)
4-Jhupri (mud floor/wall and roof are made of bamboo/polyphone/scrap)

34. How many rooms do your dwelling have? ----------

35. How is your housing condition compared to shortly before you migrated to Dhaka?

1- Better off 2- Same
3-Worse off 4-Uncertain/Don't know

Household Possessions

36. Does your household possess the following items?

Sl. No	Type of items	Possessed (Yes=1, No=2)
1	2	3
1	*Khat* or *chouki* (Bed)	
2	Chair or/and table	
3	Almirah	
4	Blanket or quilt for everyone for winter	
5	Sweater or worm clothing for everyone for winter	
6	Radio or/and cassette player	
7	Television	
8	Electric Fan	

37. How is your household possessions compared to shortly before you migrated to Dhaka?

1- Better off 2-Same
3-Worse off 4-Uncertain/don't know

Basic urban services

38. What kind of fuel is used in your household?

1- Gas 2- Electricity 3- Firewood/cowdong
4- Kerosene 5-Others (specify------)

39. Do you have electricity in your dwelling?

1-Yes 2- No

40. What is your usual source of drinking water?

1-Tap water 2-Tube-well
3-Pond/canal/river 4-Others (specify --------)

41. What kind of sanitation facilities do you use mostly?

1- Sewerage system, 2- Septic tank
3- Ring and slab latrine, 4- Pit latrine/open pit
5-Hanging latrine, 6-Others (e.g open field/no arrangement)

42. Where and how do you dispose your household garbage?

1- Dispose in municipal garbage bin
2- Dispose in pit around the house
3- No definite disposal arrangement (throw it around)

Health education or public knowledge

43. Please provide the following information about your knowledge (only respondents)

Sl. No.	Questions	Answer (Code)	If yes, how did you learn it? (Code)
1	2	3	4
1	Do you boil drinking water in your household?		
2	Do you use soap before taking meal?		
3	Do you use soap/ash/mud after using toilet/latrine?		
4	Do you know about six dangerous diseases for children?		
5	Do you know why we need to take Iodine slat?		
6	Do you know about the family planning methods to keep family small?		

Code of col.3: Yes =1, No=2, Uncertain/don't know=3.
Code of col.4: Mass Media (Radio/TV/Newspaper)=1, NGO workers=2, Other health workers (not NGO)=3, Doctors=4, Other sources=5.

Security

44. What do you think about security in your area in terms of crime and violence?

1- Good 2- Poor 3-Very Poor

45. a) Have you ever been evicted from your house or area in Dhaka?

1- Yes 2-No (Skip to Q46)

b) If yes, who made the eviction?

1- Some government department 2- Land lord 3-*Mastaan*
4- Others (if known specify -------) 5- Uncertain/don't know

Leisure and recreation

46. How do you usually spend your (respondent only) leisure time?

1- Watching TV/VCR
2-Listening radio/cassette player
3- Reading books/newspaper
4-Visiting friends/relatives
5-Gossiping
6-Playing games
7-Go to movie
8- Others (specify ----------)
9- No time for recreation

Community participation

47. a) Are you or any household members a member of any organization/association?

1- Yes 2- No (Skip to Q48)

b) If yes, please provide the following information?

Sl. No (As of Q18)	Name of organization /associations	Who leads the organization? (Code)	How long has he/she been a member? (In months)	What type of assistance is received from it? (Code)	If credit or loan is received, how many times?
1	2	3	4	5	6

Code of col.3: NGO=1, Government/Municipal=2, *Basti* dwellers=3, Others (specify)=4, Don't know/uncertain=5.

Code of col.5: Credit/loan=1, Income generating training=2, General knowledge training=3, Others (specify)=4, Nothing=5.

c) If yes, your or other members' membership has brought any benefit to the household?

1-Yes, a lot
2-Yes, a little
3-Not, at all
4-Uncertain/don't know

48. a) If you are not a member of an organization, would you like to become a member?

1- Yes 2- No

b) Please give the justifications in favour of your intentions

---

49. a) Is there anybody in the household who was a member of an organization but currently not a member?

1- Yes 2-No (Skip toQ50)

b) If yes, please provide the following information

Sl No. (As of Q18)	Name of organization	Who leaded it? (Code)	How long had he/she been a member? (In months)
1	3	4	5

Code of col.4: NGO=1, Government/Municipal=2, *Basti* dwellers=3, Others (specify)=4, Don't know/uncertain=5.

Attitudinal

50. a) What is your impression about the government or city corporation's activities towards the development of your *basti*?

1- Yes, they are doing a lot for us
2-Yes, they are doing something
3- No, they are not doing anything
4- Don't know/uncertain

b) What is your impression about different NGOs' programs towards the development of your *basti*?

2- Yes, they are doing a lot for us
3- Yes, they are doing something
4- No, they are not doing anything
5- They are more interested in their own interest than *basti* dwellers
6- Don't know/uncertain
7- Others (specify ----------)

51. All in all, what do you feel about your household condition compared to shortly before you migrated to Dhaka?

1-Better off
2-Same
3-Worse off
4-Uncertain/don't know

52. a) What are your plans for going back to the place of your origin?

1- Yes, I will return
2- No, I will not return
3- Uncertain/don't know

b) Please give reasons in favour your answer

Appendix-D: Guidelines for focus group discussion

A. Migration

1. Why have you migrated to Dhaka's *basti*?
2. Before migrating to Dhaka, how much information did you have about job opportunities and living conditions in this city?
3. Did any body motivate you to migrate to Dhaka or was it your own decision?

B. Adjustment process

4. Upon arrival, how did you find your shelter and jobs?
   (Prompts: Do you have any relatives in Dhaka? Did you receive any help from them in this regard?)
5. What sorts of feelings migrants experience to adapt with the new life in a *basti*? (Prompts: Are newcomers disappointed to adapt with the situations or are they prepared to endure the hardships of living in any conditions or to face any challenges?)

C. The quality of life

6. What do you think about the *basti* life compared to your life in the place of origin?
7. In your opinion, what are the main factors causing problems for you to live in this *basti* (e.g. in relation to housing, occupation, urban services, crime, security or eviction)? In what ways these problems are important?
8. Has there been any change in the community livelihoods since your settlement in this *basti*, and if yes, to what extent and in what ways?

D. Government and NGOs' development programs

9. Has there been any government or city corporation intervention in order to improve the environmental and physical conditions of your *basti*? If yes, what sorts of development have taken place and does everybody get equal benefit from the development program?
10. How about the NGOs? Are NGOs working in this *basti*? If yes, who are they? What sorts of programs have been undertaken by NGOs in your *basti*?

11. What do you think about NGO programs to improve your income or living conditions? Why?
12. Does everyone have equal access to become a member of an NGO group?

E. Other organizations

13. Do you have any committee in this *basti* to discuss about your problems and the development of the community? If yes, who leads the committee and how does it work? Has this committee brought any benefit to your *basti*?
14. Are there any other organizations, which have done something for the betterment of the *basti* dwellers? If yes, which organization and how?

F) Village relations

15. Do migrants maintain a link with their place of origin? If yes, how do they maintain it and why do they do so? If not, why?
16. Do you have any plan to return to the place of origin? why?
17. Have you heard about the *Ghare Phera* program? Will you return to your place of origin if you are listed in this program?

G) Overall opinions

18. In your opinion, how can *basti* problems be overcome in a simple way, accepting the fact the government or city corporation cannot solve all your problems as the government and city corporation have limited resources?